CAMPUS AND THE CITY
Belhar, mapping and re-imagining a Cape Flats space

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During our two months of fieldwork, from August to October 2012, a deeper understanding of the situation of the postapartheid Cape Flats space of Belhar was gained. Our research which was part of the VLIR-UOS project 5 ‘Multilingualism and Cities in Transition’, is the third in a series of studies with regard to the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and its direct surroundings. Accordingly, the initial intention of our research concerned the ‘mapping’ of Belhar as residential township on the doorstep of UWC and aimed to explore the potential relationships between Belhar and the university. This initial phase of ‘mapping’ Belhar took us on a journey into the NARS Archives in the city centre of Cape Town. However, besides valuable planning documents, our archival research also revealed newspaper clippings and personal statements which pointed out the perceptions of the early inhabitants of Belhar with regard to the planning practices of apartheid. As such it became abundantly clear that the lived space of the local residents during the time Belhar was conceived, should form an important part of our work. Consequently, our focus shifted from the initial ‘mapping’ of Belhar to an analysis of the perceived and lived space of the neighbourhood, resulting in a more profound role of the social fabric although always viewed in relation to its spatial characteristics. It is with regard to this social fabric, which we were able to experience through the efforts made by local residents showing us a glimpse of their daily life, that a better understanding of the way in which the neighbourhood of Belhar works today was made possible for us as outsiders. As such it became abundantly clear that the lived space of the local residents during the time Belhar was conceived, should form an important part of our work. Consequently, our focus shifted from the initial ‘mapping’ of Belhar to an analysis of the perceived and lived space of the neighbourhood, resulting in a more profound role of the social fabric although always viewed in relation to its spatial characteristics. It is with regard to this social fabric, which we were able to experience through the efforts made by local residents showing us a glimpse of their daily life, that a better understanding of the way in which the neighbourhood of Belhar works today was made possible for us as outsiders. As such the gap between rich and poor, issues of violence and crime and notions of gangsterism could be placed within the daily experiences of people. However, we also learned about the way in which a community can take matters into their own hands, setting positive examples for future planning practices. Accordingly, in formulating our strategies for the future, our own experiences in Belhar and our dialogues with local residents played an important role. In recognising that new developments and planning practices with regard to physical interventions should include the actual use of space by locals, another dimension is assigned to the role of urban planners.

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INTRODUCTION

Between 1948 and 1994, under the guise that their policy would ensure peace, safety and prosperity for all South Africans, the ruling South African National Party aimed at a legal separation of all racial groups (Turok, 2001, p. 2349). The Population Registration Act of 1950, subdividing all South African people in four ethnic groups – Asian, Black, Coloured or White – became one of their first implementations (Watson, 2007, p. 65). In classifying people according to the former mentioned four races absurdities were often used. One was the notorious ‘pencil test’ which involved sliding a pencil into a person’s hair. When it remained there instead of slipping out, the person’s hair was deemed too curly to be that of a White person.

Legally subdividing all South Africans according to race, the South African regime worked towards a separate human, economic and spatial development for all ethnic groups. This policy of separation became most evident on the urban level as the city was the place where the four ethnic groups met. Consequently, within this policy of minimizing contact on the urban level, increased government control over the nature and form of urban development was required which as such ensured a key role for urban and spatial planning (UPRU, 1990, p. 73). Nevertheless, this ‘positively’ formulated policy resulted in people being concentrated in dormitory Black and Coloured townships on the periphery of the cities (District 6 Museum, 08-10-2012). Despite the fact that the National Party thus proclaimed that their separation policy was in the best interest of every ethnic group, their policy was mere a euphemism used to segregate people on an explicit racial basis, excluding the non-White indigenous population in all facets of life (Watson, 2007, p. 65). Due to the racial ideology embedded in the separation policy of the National Party, the South African regime between 1948 and 1994 became known as the ‘apartheid’ regime. It claimed to have a relatively open government but actually seized its democratic structure through ethnic control. The fear for the non-White population and the feeling of superiority of the White population during the apartheid era is rooted within the colonial history of the country. White settlers, be they Boer Afrikaners or British, aiming for territorial expansion and establishing colonial cities attracted the indigenous population to participate in the western economy (Krige, 1988, p. 10). Using their economically dominant position, these settlers segregated the non-White indigenous population by pushing them towards the urban fringes, whereas themselves were residing in the core of the cities (Krige, 1988, p. 13). In that time the urban fringes, in contrast with the colonial city centres, became neglected with regard to injections of colonial capital hence excluding the indigenous population from necessary sanitation infrastructure (Miftarab, 2012, p. 6). Consequently, with the outbreak of the bubonic plague in 1901 and the flu epidemics of 1918 and 1919, the indigenous population became directly and inherently associated with these ill-health effects (UPRU, 1990, pp. 13 & 32). Racial segregation which was first steered by economic arguments as such evolved into ‘segregation by sanitation’, driven by hygienic arguments (Swanson in Miftarab, 2012, p. 9).

In addition this sanitation-syndrome created a notion of superiority among the White population who claimed to be the cleaner and more civilised ethnicity compared to ‘the alien other hovering on the margins’, as described in the words of Sibley (in Yiftachel & Yacobi, 2004, p. 212) when referring to the indigenous population. This perspective hardened the racial attitudes in the colonial cities setting up the bedrock for a race-based apartheid society in South Africa (Miftarab, 2012, p. 9). In 1986, Christopher (quoted in Krige, 1988, p. 19) mentioned the following: ‘The apartheid model has not reduced frictions in towns and at present urban conflict and bloodshed has reached new heights of crisis proportions’. Consequently, although it was rooted within the history of the country, in the context of violent uprisings and international pressure, the belief in the apartheid policy changed. In 1991 president F.W. De Klerk explained this change in mind-set as follows (in Christopher, 1994, p. 7), ‘Surely it is obviously unjust. Surely it is at variance with the Christian values we aspire to and profess. Surely this is in conflict with internationally acceptable norms. Surely this is a certain recipe for rebellion, civil war and revolution’.

This political turn raised the hopes of the non-White population for a future without racial segregation. Consequently, after the first democratic elections in 1994 won by the African National Congress (ANC), the concept of a rainbow nation was conceived which was well expressed by Mandela during his inaugural speech in 1994 (Mandel, 05-10-1994): ‘To my compatriots, I have no hesitation in saying that each one of us is as intimately attached to the soil of this beautiful country as are the famous jacaranda trees of Pretoria and the mimosa trees of the bushveld. […] We enter into a covenant that we shall build the society in which all South Africans, both Black and White, will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity – a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world’.

Nevertheless, anno 2013 Mandela’s wish is far from realised. The general implication is that income, social class and market forces have replaced race and state control in directing the pattern of urban development (Turok, 2001, p. 2362). Areas where the non-White population were relocated
During apartheid lack the input of private investment due to their historically disadvantaged situation. History thus repeats itself. Racial segregation still exists be it on a non-racial basis comparable to the colonial situation. In this master dissertation the term ‘post-apartheid’, referring to the time after the apartheid regime, is therefore replaced by ‘postapartheid’ putting stress on the continuity of segregation.

The ultimate goal of underlying master dissertation will be to demonstrate new ways of thinking about planning and developing these historical disadvantaged areas, enabling them to break with the continuing phenomenon of segregation within postapartheid. First of all, recognising that this master dissertation is part of the ‘Cities in Transition’-project between the University of Ghent (UGent) and the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and secondly knowing that UWC, located within the periphery of the postapartheid city of Cape Town, has formulated an intention of reflecting upon its potential role as an agent in urban revital, we will concentrate upon the direct environment of UWC. As such, the centrepiece of this master dissertation will be UWC’s direct neighbour, Belhar.

Founded in the 1970s as a Coloured neighbourhood immediately south of the campus of UWC and the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT), the neighbourhood of Belhar is to be seen as a spatial product of apartheid. It covers an area of 760ha and has a population of about 50,000 inhabitants. Where previous master dissertations within the ‘Cities in Transition’-project primarily focused upon the development of the campus of UWC or its satellite campuses, this master dissertation will thus cross the boundaries of UWC recognising its aim to become a sustainable, creative and inclusive university connected to its immediate historical disadvantaged surroundings.

To be able to re-imagine the neighbourhood of Belhar and hence break the continuity of segregation, a deeper understanding of the power relations behind the production of postapartheid space is crucial. This as such necessitates a decoding of the discourses by which Belhar is currently being influenced. However, as Castells (1983, p. 318) mentions that ‘cities and spaces are unfinished products of historical debates and conflicts involving meaning, function and form’, space is to be seen as a palimpsest, a half-open construction partially determined by its past (Dehaene, 2012). Hence besides a contemporary evaluation also an historical analysis of its production of space is required in order to understand the neighbourhood of Belhar to the fullest.

Furthermore, as quoted by Lefebvre (in Low, 2000, p. 130), ‘the complex and contradictory nature of space is that space is permeated with social relations; it is [...] producing and produced by social relations’. Consequently, in trying to reveal the power relations behind it, the production of space cannot be solely understood through the top-down planning policies. In investigating the dynamics of the urban landscape of Belhar, we will therefore use the work of Lefebvre who sees space as a social product, a combination of ‘perceived’, ‘conceived’ and ‘lived’ space. We believe that analysing the urban landscape of Belhar through these lenses can reveal the true nature of the power relations and planning principles behind it.

In conclusion, since this master dissertation aims at demonstrating new ways of thinking about planning and developing the neighbourhood of Belhar, it contains both an historical (chapter 1) and a contemporary analysis (chapter 2) of the perceived, conceived and lived space. The lessons learned from the mistakes in the past and present practices as described in these first two chapters will then be implemented in the proposed ‘new ways of thinking’ or strategies included in the third and final chapter of the master dissertation. In effect, these could hence be seen as possible stepping-stones towards the evolution from a post-apartheid era into an era of postapartheid.
INTRODUCTION

As mentioned in the introduction, this chapter focuses on the conceived and lived space of Belhar during apartheid. Analysing and understanding both the way urban planners conceptualised the original design of the neighbourhood and the way it was experienced by its first inhabitants is after all the first step in trying to formulate ‘new ways of thinking’ about urban planning and development which will be done in the third chapter of this master dissertation. Yet, apart from an architectural history study little is written on the underlying planning ideals that have inspired the design of Belhar. The following planning history of Belhar is therefore first of all based upon our own analysis of the original planning documents of Belhar. In a later stage, this information was reviewed when interviewing Basil Davidson and Andre Pentz, both urban planners working in Belhar during apartheid. Their oral information formed an important additional source to the historical documents in the archive, although this, of course, presents a present day retrospection by two main actors involved in the production of the space of the neighbourhood.

Since apartheid planning policies strongly focused upon a complete separation between all ethnic groups especially on the urban level, understanding the conceived and lived space of Belhar will also require an understanding of the apartheid city of Cape Town. Using two original documents out of the late-apartheid era both containing a first evaluation of the apartheid planning practices in urban management, we were able to reconstruct the physical, social and ideological position of Belhar within the conceived space of the wider Cape Town area during apartheid.

The first section of this chapter will thus contain the outline of the apartheid city of Cape Town with a specific focus upon the position of Belhar. The second part will consequently further examine the specific case of Belhar within the conceived space of the wider Cape Town area during apartheid.

BEL Har WITHIN THE APARTHEID CITY OF CAPE TOWN

URBAN PANOPTICISM, DIVIDE ET IMPERA

Needing the non-White population as a labour force, the former colonial city became the place where all ethnic groups met, be they Asian, Black, Coloured or White. Yet, within the paradox of both needing and fearing the non-White population, this intermingling in the South African cities led to a policy of separation which consequently became a euphemism used to segregate people on an explicit racial basis. Hence within apartheid ‘separation’ equals ‘segregation’, entailing divided cities and excluding the non-White indigenous population in all facets of life (Watson, 2007, p. 50). Black and Coloured citizens as such were being concentrated in dormitory townships on the periphery of the cities, of which Belhar is an example (Krige, 1988, p. 3). Quoting Robertson (Robertson & Whitten, 1978, p. 50), this ‘enforced ethnocratic structure and indoctrination […] – separate living areas, schools and finally ethnic universities – pays off for White rule. The policy (of separation) was designed chiefly with the goal of divide et impera […]’.

In the following sections of chapter 1, the intentions and power relations behind the design of the apartheid city will be discussed. In trying to frame this, referring to the above mentioned idea of ‘divide et impera’, Foucault’s notion of the ‘urban panopticon’ can be put forward. In his shift from the ‘panopticon’ as the architectural form, to ‘panopticism’ as a set of general ideas about the control of populations, Foucault (in Yacobi, 2009, p. 39) sees the ‘urban panopticism’ as a ‘form of political technology […] sets of regulations and institutions that shape urban space […] a laboratory of power where there was no need for bars, chains and heavy locks’. According to Foucault within such an urban panopticon ‘all that was needed was that the separations should be clear and the openings well-arranged’ which hence could lead to ‘a house of certainty that enables constant surveillance’.

As such, the concepts of apartheid spatial planning, explained in the following sections, should be seen within this context of creating an urban panopticon. The design of the apartheid city after all was used as a means for social oppression and consistent surveillance over the non-White population who within the apartheid regime ought to be perceived as ‘the alien other hovering on the margins’ using the words of Sibley (in Yifatchel & Yacobi, 2004, p. 212).

THE CORE-PERIPHERY MODEL, AN ANTI-CITY ETHIC

After 1948, urban industrialisation in South Africa evoked a large-scale
Hence, since the rate of increase of the non-White population was particularly rapid after 1960, from this time onwards Coloured and Black ethnic deconcentration points arose in the Cape Flats (Krige, 1988, p. 26). Belhar as such is one example. Due to its proximity to job opportunities in the Bellville area and the existing passenger rail facilities running through the area, it is no surprise that the outline development plan of 1969 on the masterplan of the Cape Flats refers to the neighbourhood of Belhar as being ‘phased under the Outline Development Plan for early housing development’ (Joint Town Planning Committee, 1969, p. 30). Also the fact that the relocation of the Bellville Rifle Range would be necessary to facilitate the eastward extension of the neighbourhood towards the direction of Kuilsrivier is here already mentioned (Joint Town Planning Committee, 1969, p. 66).

GROUP AREAS ACT OF 1950

Within the aim to achieve a core-periphery apartheid city, the policy of separation needed to be legally implemented (Krige, 1988, p. 28). Accordingly, after assigning the Population Registration Act of 1950 the authorities pointed out separate living areas for each racial group as was laid down in the Group Areas Act of 1950 which was consolidated in 1966 (Krige, 1988, p. 30). Later on, the Group Areas Development Act of 1955 carried out the administrative mechanisms which enabled the expropriation and development of the areas defined by the Group Areas Act (Krige, 1988, p. 30).

Buffer zones

As mentioned before, in creating the urban panopticon of apartheid, meaning ‘a laboratory of power where there was no need for bars, chains and heavy locks’, Foucault mentioned that ‘all that was needed was that the separations should be clear and the openings well-arranged’. As can be found in the diagram of the ‘ideal apartheid city’, this was conceptualised in radially distributed group areas combined with buffers of roads and railway lines in between (Krige, 1988, pp. 35-36). Where these buffers in this model take the shape of roads and railway lines it likewise could have been other man-made buffers such as cemeteries, sports fields and industrial areas or natural barriers such as rivers and dunes (Krige, 1988, pp. 35 & 40). The apartheid regime hence implemented a system of urban panopticism which isolated each group area, discouraged the physical mixture of groups and prevented their inhabitants of moving through other racial group areas when travelling to the central business district of the apartheid city (Krige, 1988, pp. 29 & 35).
Consequently, in implementing this radial system, the preliminary report of 1967 on the masterplan of the Cape needed to explain why circumferential routes were not wanted. Accordingly, it was noted that regard has been had for concentric links across radials from node to node, but the introduction [...] has been avoided in the belief that they would be artificial in concept and that in any event the present patterns of the north-south, east-west grid in the central Cape Flats is considered to give better aggregate accessibility in all directions’ (Joint Town Planning Committee, 1967, p. 14). Yet, this same report proposed a new rail route linking Athlone with the southern end of the Nyanga line, serving as a direct passenger and goods connection between the proposed non-White urban settlement areas (Joint Town Planning Committee, 1967, p. 14). This line indeed was established and, as proposed, later on extended towards Philippi. In Philippi this line was hence split in two separate lines in direction of the Coloured city of Mitchells Plain and the Black group area round Khayelitsha. As a result it prevented the intermingling of Black (Khayelitsha) and Coloured (Mitchells Plain) inhabitants of the Metropolitan Area of Cape Town.

Furthermore concerning Belhar, the buffers between its Coloured group area and the White group area of Bellville were formed by the Bellville South industrial precinct, the Transnet area, Parow industrial precinct and the Cape Town – Mutual – Bellville railway line. The buffer in the south, separating Belhar from the Black group area around Nyanga was established through the D.F. Malan Cape Town International Airport and the N2. Moreover, in the Belhar Guideplan (Comdev, 1972, p. 2) it is mentioned that ‘op die treinspoor ten noorde van die stad is daar twee stasies naamlik Duine (Unibell) en Werkgenot⁴ wat goeie massa vervoer verbinding na omliggende Kleurlingstede sowel as Kaapstad en die groot nywerheids komplekse sal verseker’⁵. Further analysis of this sentence reveals that this railway line running from Mutual to Langa, Bonteheuvel, Laviston, Modderdam, Unibell, Pentech and Sarepta station (Sarepta railway line) indeed connects Belhar with the city centre of Cape Town but as such also prevents its Coloured inhabitants of using the White station of Bellville.

Since the process of creating the apartheid city is nothing more than 'to the
White man the best’ (Gell quoted in Krige, 1988, p. 45), this also concerned the choice of location in indicating the different group areas. White group areas always occupied the higher terrains and were favoured by the amount of sun and wind direction, as can be found the diagram of the ‘ideale apartheid city’10. In Cape Town, the stunning mountains and coastal settings of the White group areas juxtaposed with the treeless, flood-prone, wind-swept wetland areas and sandy plains of the Cape Flats (Turok, 2001, p. 2349).

Although it is not the most favourable environment to live in, the Cape Flats provided an obvious area for expansion with its flat, easily developable land, and relative proximity to the older spines of the city (UPRU, 1990, p. 42). Yet, up until now, each year during heavy rainfall the Cape Flats as such remain subject to floodings. At the time of research, Blackheath located within the Cape Flats encountered severe floodings. An inhabitant described the situation as follows: ‘It is horrible to live like this. It rains so hard and water comes through the ground’ (Heavy rain leaves four dead in Cape Town, 13-08-2012). Furthermore, the ever present dune remnants form traces of the former harsh ‘bush’ environment. In Belhar these remnants of dune ridges can be found alongside Chestnut Way, in between the Erica and Symphony Sports Fields. Yet, the most beautiful ones are located within the Delft area, south of Belhar and can be spotted when driving on Symphony Way.

Erica and Erika in the Cape Flats

After the first houses of the neighbourhood that later would be known as Belhar were established, discussion arose about the name of the neighbourhood. Where first of all the name ‘Belhar’ was proposed, the Commissioner of Coloured Affairs wrote on November 27th of 1969 the following to the Secretary of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs: ‘Die naam Belhar vir die woonbuurt vind egter nie byval nie en die gedagte het om die straatname na die verskillende soorte erica (heide) te vernoem’11. Hence a minute of the authorities of Bellville-South of November 18th 1970 noted that ‘die nuwe Bellville dorp sal bekend staan as ‘Erica Kleurlingdorp’ en dat die straatnaam na die naam van verskillende blomme sal heet’12 (Commissioner of Coloured Affairs, 27-11-1969).

On October 17th of 1973 the story continues. The Office of the Regional Representative Administration of Coloured Affairs wrote to the Administrator of Coloured Affairs that ‘die naam ‘Erica Dorpsgebied’ genoeg (is) vir die identifisering van die reeds bestaande spogbuurt.’ Hence the straatnaam na die verskillende soorte erica (heide) te vernoem13.

10. See the indication of ‘heersende winde’ which can be paraphrased as ‘dominant wind directions’.

11. Paraphrased as: ‘The name Belhar is not supported, though the name Erica is and it will been taken into consideration to name the streets after the several types of Erica’ (heath).

12. Paraphrased as: ‘The new neighbourhood will be known as Erica’ and the street names as such will be called after the names of different flowers.’

13. Paraphrased as: ‘The name Erica is solely reserved for the first established residential cell of the whole neighbourhood. As such Belhar becomes the overall name for both the area of Erica and the other established extensions’.

14. Paraphrased as: ‘Please note that Erica is spelled with a c and not with a k, since a typing error occurred in a former letter of the Secretary of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs of July 3rd 1973 of which you received a copy.’

15. Paraphrased as: ‘The main objective is to establish a new city for the Coloured. This city in effect will have a population of 10,000 to 12,000 families (50,000 to 70,000 people) and will imbed a proper city center, sufficient job opportunities and the whole range of community facilities.’

16. Paraphrased as: ‘The area should be large enough to be supported by its own local authority.’

17. On October 29th of 1973 this is hence confirmed by the Commissioner of Coloured Affairs. Above all, the Commissioner also brings forward the following: Gelieve egter daartoe te let dat Erica met ‘n gospel word en nie met ‘n k nie. Daar het met abus ‘n diklout ingesigd in die Sekretaris van Kleurlinghbetrekkinge en Rehoboth-Aangeleenthede se skrywe van 3 Julie 1973 waarvan ‘n afdruk ter inligting aan u gestuur is. Gelieve u rekords dienoooreenkomstig te wysig’.

Concluding this story, the name ‘Erica’ and the different street names within the area such as ‘Heide Road’, ‘Orgidee Road’, ‘Suikerbos Road’, ‘Arctotis Road’ and ‘Siprees Avenue’ thus refer to the specific location of the neighbourhood within the dune area of the Cape Flats. Erica as such is indeed spelled with a c and not with a k, which explains the often made mistaken link with Erica Theron, who was a liberal Afrikaner engaged with the living conditions of the Coloured during apartheid and laid the foundation of the Coloured Representatives Council of which the senate building was located next to Erica (Murray, 2011, p. 3).

Idea of self-containment

In trying to create the urban panopticon, the apartheid policy aimed at a complete separation of its four ethnic groups. Hence, the established group areas were meant to be both separate living areas and zones for separate human and economic development. As such, besides its principle of creating buffer zones and having location preferences in distributing the group areas, the Group Areas Act also implemented the principle of ‘self-containment’. With reference to Belhar, this idea of self-containment was implemented from the beginning of its planning process as the first sentences of the Belhar Guideplan of 1972 are the following (Comdev, 1972, p. 2). ‘Daar word beog om ‘n ‘nuwe stad’ vir die Kleurlinge gemeenskap by Belhar te stig. Hierdie stad sal uiteindelik ‘n totale bevolking van 10 - 12000 gesinne (50 - 70000 persone) hê, en sal ‘n volwaardige stad wees met ‘n stadsentrum, voldoende werkgeleentheid en ‘n volle reeks gemeenskapsgeriewe.’ Furthermore according to the Guideplan, since Belhar is located near UWC, it would also facilitate the university hospital.

Accordingly, when indicating a group area the government had to be sure that ‘die gebied groot genoeg is om van selfregering op plastikale skaal voorsien te word’ (Krige, 1988, p. 29). As such, within the outline development plan of 1969 on the Cape Flats masterplan it is noted that the Cape Flats area would have its own local authorities (Joint Town Planning Committee, 1967, p. 16). Furthermore, each group area should ‘oor voldoende grond
When attending the birthday party of her sister, the head of our host family (Iris) quite fancied her birthday present. Being that proud of her present she told us she bought ‘FALKE socks’. Looking flabbergasted at each other, Iris was quite shocked not understanding we did not know the famous FALKE socks hence explaining to us that FALKE socks were high quality hosiery produced in Bellville South for over 30 years.

Back home, working on our master dissertation, we realised the famous FALKE socks (which can be found all over Europe, even in Harrods in London) are part of a much larger history. In 1974, when the German FALKE company started to establish foreign production companies, besides Portugal, Austria and Hungary, it also opened a factory in South Africa. Being originally a manufacturer of carpet yarns, steady growth resulted in the company taking on new ventures. In providing new centres of employment during apartheid and amongst others focusing on the textile industry, FALKE hence established its sock factory in Bellville South. Due to its success in South Africa the company acquired another hosiery plant in Pretoria in 1996 (Falke, 2013; Total Sports, 2013).

As such, in the areas surrounding Belhar, the industrial areas of Bellville South (1954), Sacks Circle (1957) and Parow Industrial (1969) were laid out on the northern rail link spine (UPRU, 1990, p. 82). Food factories and textile clothing were the typical industries which employed a high percentage of female labour and had a high density of employees per acre (Joint Town Planning Committee, 1969, p. 16).

Concerning its economic development it was expected that people would continue to work in all areas in commercial and other occupations and in existing industrial areas planned to serve all races, yet new centres of employment were also planned within the Cape Flats area (Joint Town Planning Committee, 1969, pp. 16 & 19). However, in creating these new separated economic zones sealed off from the White market, it as such protected the White economic force (Joint Town Planning Committee, 1969, pp. 19 & 42). Therefore, implementing this economic self-containment the government used the argument that ‘indien die Kleurling nie teen mededinging van die Blanke en Indiërhandelaars beskerm sou word nie, hy die mas op handelsgebied nie sou opkome niet’ (Krige, 1988, p. 42). This argument was furthermore emphasised by referring to the fact that these economic zones would entail full employment for the labour force of the Cape Flats (Joint Town Planning Committee, 1969, p. 16).

As such, in the areas surrounding Belhar, the industrial areas of Bellville South (1954), Sacks Circle (1957) and Parow Industrial (1969) were laid out on the northern rail link spine (UPRU, 1990, p. 82). Food factories and textile clothing were the typical industries which employed a high percentage of female labour and had a high density of employees per acre (Joint Town Planning Committee, 1969, p. 59).

BELHAR, A COLOURED NEIGHBOURHOOD FOR UWC AND THE COLOURED REPRESENTATIVES COUNCIL

As mentioned earlier, the apartheid regime worked towards a complete separation of the four ethnic groups. This resulted in a separate Coloured university (UWC) established within the Coloured group area south of Bellville as indicated on the Group Areas map of 1965 (N.N., 1987, p. 6). Referring to the above mentioned location characteristics linked with
the non-White group areas, UWC became isolated within the inferior environment of the Cape Flats and as such was known as the ‘Bush College’. In the 1970s the realisation of the Coloured enclave was pushed to the next level, constructing the senate building of the Coloured Representatives Council within the perimeter of the UWC campus (De Vree, Lanckriet & Van Doorslaer, 2009).

Nevertheless, looking at the Group Areas map of 1965, only the area around Belhar is proclaimed as ‘Coloured Group Area’. Belhar itself is not yet assigned. Though, due to its connection to the university and the Coloured Representatives Chamber, on January 23rd of 1970 the Department of Community Development received the permission from the Provincial Administration of the Cape of Good Hope to establish the neighbourhood. It is issued by the Department of Community Development in 1972 and fits within the masterplan of the Cape Flats (UPRU, 1990, p. 75). Despite the fact that Belhar is originated out of a link with UWC and the Coloured Representatives Council, the Guideplan (1972, p. 5) claimed that all income groups should be able to reside within the neighbourhood. Belhar as such also became a ‘Group Housing’24 project for relocated people from District Six. Yet, the most powerful and overwhelming consequence of the Group Areas Act were the forced removals of Coloureds and Blacks out of the non-White well-established slums near the city centre. Working towards the core-periphery apartheid city these areas were proclaimed as White group areas which consequently led to the dislocation of its former non-White inhabitants (Krige, 1988, p. 48). The best known example of such slum clearance in Cape Town became the eviction and destruction of District Six.

In doing so in the 1960s the Capetonian government embarked a large-scale residential construction program within the Cape Flats (UPRU, 1990, p. 75). Despite the fact that Belhar is originated out of a link with UWC and the Coloured Representatives Council, the Guideplan (1972, p. 5) claimed that Belhar should have a ‘gebalanseerde gemeenschap’23 hence underlining that all income groups should be able to reside within the neighbourhood. Belhar as such also became a ‘Group Housing’24 project for relocated people (Murray, 2011, p. 3). Minutes from the authorities of Bellville-South on March 18th 1968 state that ‘Belhar gebruik sal word om mense uit Distrik Ses te huives’25. Nevertheless, people who were removed to Belhar came from areas across Cape Town, among them also District One and the Southern

BELHAR, A COLOURED NEIGHBOURHOOD FOR RELOCATED CAPETONIANS

The implementation of the Group Areas Act had a devastating impact upon the South African population, whilst the case of Mr. Kariel within the text box is only one example out of a countless number of individuals who were disadvantaged by the racial-based policy of apartheid.

20. The Belhar Guideplan brings forward the general idea behind the design and purpose of Belhar. It is issued by the Department of Community Development in 1972 and fits within the masterplan of the Cape Flats.

21. Paraphrased as: ‘The university as well as the Coloured Representatives Chamber is situated north of Belhar. As such, prestigious housing and a town centre will need to be developed within Belhar’.

22. Paraphrased as: ‘The area of Belhar itself is not yet assigned within the Group Areas Act. However, the establishment of the Coloured neighbourhood of Belhar is approved. As a consequence, the borders of the future group area of Belhar should follow the border of Belhar itself’.

23. Paraphrased as: ‘A balanced community’.

24. The term ‘Group Housing’, in this master dissertation written with capitals, refers to the construction of racial groups as implemented in the Group Areas Act (Murray, 2011, p. 3). Further in this master dissertation we will see that ‘group housing’, written without capitals, also can be linked with the Group Housing Code as such referring to the construction of groups of houses. More background information on this topic can be found in the second part of this chapter in the text box ‘Group Housing and group housing: two meanings’.

25. Paraphrased as: ‘Belhar will be used to relocate people from District Six’.
As can be read in the preliminary report, the masterplan would look into the need for housing but also the possible exploitation of glass sands in the Philippi area (Joint Town Planning Committee, 1967, p. 14). Consequently, while announcing the preliminary report on the masterplan, in the same newspaper article of July 6th of 1967 the following was written: 

'The report estimates there will be a total of more than a million Coloured people in the Cape Town Metropolitan Area by 1985 and presents a plan in general terms for the housing of 587,000 of these people in the new areas of the Cape Flats within the next 18 years [...]

The sub-committee’s objectives were to plan the residential and industrial future of the Cape Flats; to accommodate within the plan the requirements of the adjacent areas; and to provide internal employment to absorb the balance of the population'.

Suburbs of Mowbray, Wynberg and Claremont (Murray, 2011, p. 3). According to Wilkinson (in Turok, 2001, p. 2351) by the end of the 1960s an estimated amount of 150,000 people were removed from the Cape Town city centre towards the Cape Flats.

Mr. Farges Kariel

Within the NARS an exchange of letters concerning the case of Mr. Farges Kariel popped up. Mr. Kariel, an Indian employee of ‘Miles laboratories’ in Goodwood, was not able to acquire a house from the City Council within the Indian area of Rylands as it was ‘beyond his financial capabilities’. As such, in 1977 he sent a letter to the Department for Community Development asking a permit to purchase a house in the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce Belhar Housing Project for Coloured Employees, of which his employer was a member.

After several months of uncertainty Mr. Kariel got a letter back from the Department of Community Development. Although Mr. Kariel’s employer confirmed that he was prepared to provide Mr. Kariel with the necessary financial assistance, on July 11th of 1978 the Department of Community Development stated that 'This office is of the opinion that the application should not be recommended in view of the comments by the Administration of Coloured Affairs and the fact that it will be against the Department’s policy to enable the applicant to acquire property in Coloured group area. That the permit be refused'.

The Cape Flats masterplan

With the resettling of Coloured people from the city centre in the Cape Flats area, it was understood that a Cape Flats masterplan would be necessary. Indeed while competing with other land uses such as small-scale agriculture, glass and sand deposits and limestone resources, various local authorities and other developers encountered difficulties in acquiring sufficient land embarking their large-scale housing projects (Joint Town Planning Committee, 1967, p. 18). Hence in achieving the coordinated and harmonious development of the area in a manner which will promote health, safety, order, convenience and general welfare as well as efficiency and economy in the process, the preliminary report on the masterplan was released on July 5th of 1967 as was mentioned in a newspaper article titled ‘masterplan for Cape Flats’ of July 6th of 1967 in the Cape Times (Joint Town Planning Committee, 1967, p. 1).
BELHAR, A DIVIDED COLOURED NEIGHBOURHOOD

Referring to the large-scale housing programme, the Capetonian authorities were not able to keep up with the demand generated by the population growth and the large numbers of families who had to be relocated due to the Group Areas Act (UPRU, 1990, p. 76). Also Belhar encountered the rapid growth of population including the continued migration of people from small towns and rural areas in what was then the Cape Province (Murray, 2011, p. 3). Hence, during its establishment the first signs of Belhar as being a ‘divided’ neighbourhood became clear. The massive inflow of less-affluent people, be they the relocated Coloureds from Cape Town or the new rural immigrants, after all strongly contrasted with the first middle and upper class inhabitants of Belhar linked with UWC and the Coloured Representatives Council. As such, this mere elite part of Belhar became known by its nickname the ‘spogbuurt’ which still is used today.

GARDEN CITIES, NEW TOWNS, NEIGHBOURHOOD UNITS AND SOCIAL ENGINEERING

Garden Cities and New Towns

Britain during the Industrial Revolution firmly established a policy of proactive public intervention in urban development, largely as a reaction to the slum conditions developed in that time (UPRU, 1990, p. 33). It envisioned the replacing of an exploding metropolis with a system of self-contained new towns of fixed size located in belts of green. This became then conceptualised in the well-known ‘Garden City’ model of Ebenezer Howard (UPRU, 1990, p. 36). During apartheid, the implementation of the Group Areas Act was justifiably by means of the anti-city ethic protecting citizens from the negative effects caused by urban growth. As such, implementing this policy, the popular British Garden City model provided the South African apartheid regime some ready-made solutions. Hence, in the case of Cape Town, the relocation of the non-White population in the newly established and buffered neighbourhoods of the Cape Flats indeed closely followed Howard’s Garden City model.

During the reconstruction of the British cities after World War II, the concept of Howard was further adapted in the New Town Act of 1949. These New Towns essentially contain all of Howard’s original ideas and concepts but were adapted to the period of time in which they were constructed (UPRU, 1990, p. 69). As such, the New Town movement developed a ruthless belief in comprehensive and scientific planning which was manifested in both a more mathematical approach to urban development and one which attempted to anticipate upon the entire process of urban development (UPRU, 1990, p. 69). Hence, comparable to the link with the Garden City model, in constructing the large-scale housing programmes within relative short periods of time, the New Town movement also provided some ready-made answers (UPRU, 1990, p. XIII). Again in the case of Cape Town, this planning initiative of constructing New Towns in the Cape Flats indeed resulted in a rigorously enforced system of technocratic regulations such as proposed by the New Town movement: land use zoning, space standards for all facilities, height restrictions, building setbacks and regulations for the street pattern layout.

It is within this context of technocratic solutions that, for example, the Housing Code of 1960, funded by the National Housing Fund, was developed (UPRU, 1990, p. 74). It laid down the national standards for the planning and construction of low income residential areas containing regulations for housing densities, stand sizes, building lines, services and infrastructure. These standards varied according to race group and to income group, arguing that the standards of any township must relate to the financial capability of the residents who occupied it. As such, the density standards for Whites became 25, for Coloured 40 and for Blacks 50 dwelling units per ha. Within the planning process of Belhar references to this Housing Code are made, as found in the ‘Report on Town Planning Provisions’ of Roelof Uytenbogaardt.

Within the Western Cape, besides this Housing Code, the ‘Western Cape Regional Services Council Standards’ were implemented which is hence an application of the mathematical approach (UPRU, 1990, p. 124). These standards defined the amount of land to be reserved for crèches, playgrounds, sports fields, corner shops etcetera, based upon to the forecasts of the number of inhabitants. Consequently, expecting an amount of 30,250 inhabitants in the Belhar II and Illa area, Uytenbogaardt reserved for example 58.66 ha for public open space and 2.64 ha for churches.

When referring to the planning of Belhar, which according to Murray (2011, p. 3) also happened ‘along the lines of international precedent of ‘New Towns’’, the technocratic regulations can also be found. For example, within the letter of approval of the establishment of Belhar the following scientific specification can be read: “Die hoeke van die ewe waar strate, [...], bymekaar aansluit onder enige hoek van minder as 130°, moet uitgeskuins word en wel op so’n wyse dat die basis van die gelykbeneige driehoek wat van die hoek afgesny word, die raaklyn uitmaak van ‘n sirkel met ‘n straal van”.
minstens 8.5 meters wat sy middelpunt het op minstens dié afstand vanaf die straatgrense van die erf; die gedeelte wat afgesny word, moet deel van die straat uitmaak.31 (Provincial Administration of the Cape of Good Hope, 23-01-1970).

New Towns and Neighbourhood Units

Continuing the argumentation that planning models from overseas were adopted to realise the apartheid ideology of a complete separation, besides the former noted British New Town principle, the American Neighbourhood Unit concept was also applied. This concept initially emerged within the context of rapid urbanisation of a large number of poorly educated and often illiterate people. American urban reformists such as Clarence Perry within this context sought, found and promoted an alternative urban living area, hence called the Neighbourhood Unit, which encapsulated the qualities of the personalised village and sealed off the urban ills (UPRU, 1990, p. 33). According to Perry (Perry in Patricios, 2002, p. 2), this alternative urban living is considered to be a formula addressing among other problems ‘the growing sea of vehicular traffic’, crowded living and unfavourable environments. Developing the apartheid New Towns, similar problems arose as for example, due to the major relocation politics, indeed crowded living conditions were expected. This consequently explains the relevance of using the Neighbourhood Unit concept as a basis for its design.

The Neighbourhood Unit concept of Perry was primarily focused on the ‘family’, that is a household unit with children (Meenakshi, 2011, p. 81). In Perry’s mind a neighbourhood therefore needs to consist of housing, schools, parks and playgrounds, and shopping (Meenakshi, 2011, p. 83). As such, schools, shops, parks and playground for Perry functions as services to the residential function, whereas job creation did not form a priority (Patricios, 2002, p. 6). Not providing industrial and commercial activity, this facilitated the separation of residential land use from what was seen as unhealthy urban zones (UPRU, 1990, p. 35). Hence, referring to the latter, Perry assumed that workers would travel outside their living area, an aspect also intended in the apartheid policy. It is within this context that in the planning process of Belhar, the following was written in a letter from the Regional Representative on September 9th of 1974 to the Department of Planning and the Environment, referring to a hiatus in the Belhar Guideplan of 1972 where no provision for job creation was made: ‘The Belhar complex has been planned to accommodate approximately 78,000 persons. Although it can be assumed that the majority of the bread winners will be employed elsewhere, it seems essential to make provision for a service industrial area in a township as large as this one. The site reserved for this purpose measures approximately 4.5 ha which appears to be adequate. It is recommended that authorisation for the industrial zoning of the site is granted’. Nevertheless, recognising that the planning of Belhar followed the intentions of the Neighbourhood Unit concept, the letter was left unanswered and no industrial area was ever planned in Belhar.

Turning back to Perry’s focus on the family, he furthermore believed that each Neighbourhood Unit should have a population of 3,000 to 9,000 inhabitants, the amount necessary to support only one primary school (Strayer and Engelhardt in Patricios, 2002, p. 9). As such he believed this entailed that no child would have to travel more than 400m from the furthest house to the school at the centre of the neighbourhood. In Belhar this philosophy was implemented when planning and dividing the neighbourhood in different independent cells32 as mentioned in the Belhar Guideplan (Comdev, 1972, p. 6): ‘Die normale beplanningsbenadering om groot verkeersvrye woonsele van 10 – 20 000 persone te beplan is weens die omliggende spoor en padtelsels nie in die geval van Belhar prakties moontlik nie. […] In Belhar is daar 3 woonsele (15 000 persone) en 1 halwe woonse (8 000 persone). Die grootte van ‘n woonse is baseer op die voorsoning op 2 hoërskole en 5 laerskole. Verder word ‘n volle reeks gemeenskapsgeriewe voorsien soos Kerke (...) Kleuterskole (...) sale (...) hoewinkelentrum (...) en voldoende oop ruimte vir kinderspeelparke en plattelike sprotwele (sic)’.33

Recognising that the Neighbourhood Unit concept is an entity of just 9,000 inhabitants32 it hence could be seen as a residential cell within a New Town. Furthermore, in carrying out the same believe in comprehensive planning as the New Town movement, the Neighbourhood Unit concept as such needs to be further read an analysed as a complementary concept to the New Town principle.

During apartheid, major traffic congestion problems were experienced which were resolved by realising increasingly expensive and specialised accommodation for the car (UPRU, 1990, p. IX). As such, freeways and other car-related infrastructure dominated the urban landscape, forming predominant environmental problems when designing the New Towns. Here, the Neighbourhood Concept proves again to be useful. Referring to the fact that the Neighbourhood Unit was meant to be a formula addressing problems of ‘the growing sea of vehicular traffic’, safety and convenience were indeed considered to be crucial elements and as a result, a strict hierarchical separation of traffic was applied (UPRU, 1990, p. 72). Consequently, the Neighbourhood Unit entailed the provision of separated...
movement channels for high speed through traffic, for local traffic within
neighbourhoods and for pedestrians. As a result, the urban form of the
Neighbourhood Unit cell was mostly shaped by clear outside boundaries
formed by arterial roads and an internal system of cul-de-sacs for local
access (Patricios, 2002, pp. 2 & 4-5).

In applying this aspect of the Neighbourhood Unit on Belhar and hence
discussing the street hierarchy, the Guideplan indicates the following (1972, p.
5): “n verbindingspad tussen die Stellenbosch Kringpad en die Modderdamweg
voorsien die hoof toevoer tot die dorp33. ’n Ringpad (versamelstraat) gee
’n verdere skakeling met die Stellenbosch Kringpad, die stadsentrum en die
Kuilsrivier plase34. Hierdie bovermelde twee paaie sal 40m wyd wees met
beperkte toegange en sal vir ’n metropolitaanse busdiens gebruik word.
Sekondêre paaie (25m wyd met beperkte toegang) sal toegang verleen tot
die woonbuurte, stadsentrum ens. […] Hierdie busroete (sal) […] binne 5
minute loopafstand van 95% van die inwoners […] wees35. These guidelines
as such became furthermore literally implemented in the planning process
of Belhar which can be read in a letter from the Commissioner of Coloured
Affairs to the Secretary of the Divisional Council of the Cape on February
19th of 1974. Additionally, when looking at the street pattern of Belhar, the
intended street pattern of the Neighbourhood Unit can be found within
each residential cell. This hence proves the use of the Neighbourhood Unit
concept when planning the apartheid New Towns in the Cape Flats.

33. Now called ‘Symphony Way’.
34. Now called ‘Erica Drive’.
35. Paraphrased as: ‘A connection between Stellenbosch Arterial and Modderdam Road
(footnote 33) will function as major access road in Belhar. A ring road will furthermore connect
Stellenbosch Arterial with the town centre and Kuilsrivier (footnote 34). The just mentioned
two roads will be 40m wide, will have limited access points and will furthermore be used by
the Metropolitan bus service. Secondary roads with a 25m width will hence provide access to the
residential cells, the town centre etcetera. […] The before mentioned bus route will be in a 3 minute
walking distance of 95% of all inhabitants’.

The provision of schools, shops, parks and playground, implemented as social
‘contact points’, combined with the specific chosen street pattern, as such
resulted in inwardly-focused Neighbourhood Units (UPRU, 1990, p. 35).
This, just as Perry intended it, worked towards the formation of balanced
and cohesive communities. Recognising the relocation politics of apartheid,
this creation of a ‘sense of community’ as intended in the Neighbourhood
Unit concept, was perhaps the most useful to the apartheid regime.

Social engineering

As a consequence, in planning the apartheid urban panopticon, urban planning
became primarily a form of social engineering influenced by overseas
planning models instead of a mechanism providing solely a framework for
unforced spatial, social and economic development (UPRU, 1990, p. IX).

The ‘Guidelines for the Provision of Engineering Services for Residential Townships’ published by the Department of Community Development in 1983, became the ultimate device of the social engineering system of apartheid. In effect, it extends all other standards, such as contained in the Housing Code and Western Cape Regional Services Council Standards, to the entire design and layout of the township (UPRU, 1990, p. 91). These guidelines, better known as the ‘Blue Book’ referring to the blue cover in which it was issued, applied the implicit philosophy that engineering worked as umbrella organisation out of which all other disciplines – town planning, architecture, landscape architecture and sociology – should be guided (Pentz, 19-09-2012). The philosophy was derived from the argument that ‘engineering services cost more than necessary when the special layout needs of each service have not been co-ordinated in the overall layout from the beginning’ (Comdev, 1983, summary). Since research had shown that the road layout played a key role in the cost of providing engineering services, regulations upon the street pattern became the major content of the Blue Book linking it with the concept of the Neighbourhood Unit. Hence, bearing in mind that the layout of townships had traditionally been the responsibility of town planners, the Blue Book emphasised that ‘engineers and planners should work in close collaboration and mutual understanding from the outset of the planning process’ (Comdev, 1983, summary). As Pentz thus mentions (19-09-2012), ‘planning was a part of the bigger engineering discipline’ wherein the Blue Book became ‘the bible for planners at that time which provided them with a set of standards that had to be followed’. Indeed when looking at the street pattern of Belhar, similar constellations as stipulated in the Blue Book can be traced down. This as such will be further explained in the narrative ‘introvert cell’ of the second chapter.

These guidelines moreover introduced the centralisation of control over the nature of urban development within the belief that there was a uniform ‘right’ way of building environments, which suit all contexts and occasions (UPRU, 1990, p. 91). Nevertheless, for spatial planning, the Blue Book became a curse. Its township layouts, as Pentz mentioned (19-09-2012), resulted in design which often lacked flexibility and was limited in its options, as it did not ‘provide a framework for change’. Davidson (04-10-2012) even brought it more explicitly: ‘This hierarchy of roads […] on a level one road you can’t get access to […] a level three loop, all of that sort of things […] is an anemia for urbanism […] And that brought us up. It’s rubbish, it’s one size fits all’.

INTRODUCTION

Related to the Belhar neighbourhood, in January 1982, the Cape Herald quoted ‘The model township […] went wrong’. Where Belhar in the beginning of the 1970s indeed started off as a model township for the wealthy Coloured, during the 1980s it changed into a receiving neighbourhood for relocated Coloured out of the slums of the inner-city of Cape Town. In the following section of this first chapter this historical evolution will be reviewed.

Whilst changing the intentions underlying the planning of Belhar, the spatial planners and developers also changed. Hence several spatial projects and plans were produced, which were either carried out or were changed or abandoned. To be able to reproduce this planning process, a time line is introduced which presents a chronological survey of the several plans, projects and the spatial development of the neighbourhood. In discussing each extension of the Belhar area parts of this time line will re-appear in our discussion for the purpose of clarification.

Yet to be able to read the time line, one should bear in mind that the starting year corresponding to an extension, refers to the start of the planning process or at least refers to the first date found in the documents relating to the planning process. Accordingly, the end year refers to the date the extension was (partially) realised, a characteristic we established by using historical aerial photographs. Though, to be correct, we should mention that only photographs of the years 1966, 1968, 1973, 1977, 1983, 1989, 1992 and 1996 were available, which means these last dates should be carefully interpreted.
CHAPTER 1 | THE CONCEIVED AND LIVED SPACE OF BELHAR | A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

BELHAR WITHIN THE APARTHEID CITY OF CAPE TOWN - TIME LINE

- Belhar Guideplan
- masterplan Belhar II and IIIa
- revision masterplan Belhar II and IIIa
- private development
- Belhar I - Chamber of Commerce
- Belhar II and IIIa - Chamber of Commerce
- Belhar II and IIIa - public housing
- Belhar II and IIIa - self-help
- Belhar latest development - self-help
- Belhar CBD
Erica, the original part of Belhar planned in 1969 even before the Belhar Guideplan was produced, was intended to cater for the more affluent Coloured population (Engel, 01-09-2012). The neighbourhood became a home to employees of UWC or the Coloured Representatives Council and professionals such as local school principals.

The planning of the area was carried out by the Department of Community Development with a layout plan of 412 plots. At that time the price of one plot, which could be bought from the government, was around R4,500 which amounted a two months wage for a teacher and thus was considered a large sum of money (Engel, 01-09-2012). As the area hence was set up to be an upper and middle class suburban environment including well-manicured parks and libraries, the design of the actual dwellings was not done by the Department of Community Development but was carried out by the individual owners (Davidson, 04-10-2012). This as such resulted in a great variety of housing types in the original part of Belhar.

Plea for civic hall

‘[…] ‘There is no place – except on the pavement – for the children in Belhar, Bellville, to enjoy cultural activities’, Mr. J.M. Earle said in the Divisional Council last week. Mr. Earle was speaking on request from the Belhar Ratepayers’ (sic) Association for the provision of a civic hall. ‘Belhar is a prestige township’, he said. ‘The people have no place to meet. They need a civic hall – let them have it.’. (Cape Herald, 05-10-1974)

Throughout the development of Belhar, there will be a continuous tension between the expansion of the neighbourhood versus the provision of amenities and community facilities. Over time, this mismatch between the supply of housing and the demand for supporting facilities would increase due to the diminishing amount of money available at the responsible departments. Already in this early phase of Belhar, as is illustrated in an article in the Cape Herald of October 5th of 1974, the shortage of amenities was subject to the people’s concerns.

THE BELHAR GUIDEPLAN

In 1972, fitting within the masterplan for the Cape Flats, the Department of Community Development laid out a plan for a complete new Coloured neighbourhood adjacent to the Coloured enclave of UWC and the already established Erica township. As such, in the first sentences of the Guideplan the following could be read (Comdev, 1972, p. 2) ‘Daar word beoog om
companies provided Coloured Group Housing was the first in its kind. As
2011, pp. 6 & 11). This project whereby not the government but private
hence amongst others also for the Coloured employees of UCT (Murray,
and 'waged' Coloured employees of their participating member companies,
enormous housing backlog (Coloured housing scheme, 30-05-1974, Cape
out its own Group Housing project contributing to the reduction of the
Project whereby not the government but private
hence amongst others also for the Coloured employees of UCT (Murray,

The Belhar Guideplan furthermore revealed that the original intention
behind the development, against the background of the Group Areas Act, was
to provide a large-scale Group Housing programme for the more affluent
Coloured population. Within this context it is hence not surprising that
the Cape Times in April 1966 related to the masterplan of the Cape Flats
quoted that South Africa was not the only country with housing problems,
but was one of the few who were making positive attempts to remedy
them’ furthermore the newspaper article also stated that ‘No family would
be moved from District Six until reasonable alternative housing would be
offered’ (Key plan to develop Cape Flats, 22-04-1966, Cape Times).

A CHAMBER OF COMMERCE PROJECT

According to a statement issued by the Chamber of Commerce in an article
in the Cape Argus in 1974, it was estimated that if the total demand for
Coloured housing in the greater Cape Town area was to be met, some
95,000 houses had to be built between 1974 and 1980 at an estimated
cost of about R360-million. Yet as expected the government could not keep
up with this demand which resulted in an enormous backlog of housing for
the Coloured in the Cape Peninsula. It was hence in this context that
professor Cilliers, head of the Department of Sociology at the University
of Stellenbosch, said at a meeting organised by the Cape Town Chamber of
Commerce in May 1974 that ‘leaders of our communities should assume
more social responsibility rather than leave the entire problem to the State´
(Cape Times).

As a result the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, in conjunction with a
research group comprising of representatives of the UCT Graduate School
of Business17, School of Architecture, the Urban Problems Research Unit18
(UPRU) and the Department of Urban and Regional Planning, carried
out its own Group Housing project contributing to the reduction of the
enormous housing backlog (Coloured housing scheme, 30-05-1974, Cape
Argus).Within this project the Chamber built houses for both the ‘salaried’
and ‘waged’ Coloured employees of their participating member companies,
hence amongst others also for the Coloured employees of UCT (Murray,
2011, pp. 6 & 11). This project whereby not the government but private
companies provided Coloured Group Housing was the first in its kind.

As such, against the background of this Group Areas Act, the concept of
Group Housing, should first of all be read as ‘housing for a specific racial
group’ (Murray, 2011, p. 12). The Coloured Group Housing project of the
Belhar II area, extensions 9 to 16 and Belhar III, extensions 18 to 23, housing
was designed by Uytenboogaardt and his colleague between the concepts
embodied in traditional single residential housing and those of the new
Group Housing Code. The Belhar II and III project became hence more
controversial which will be explained further in this chapter.

Group Housing and group housing: two meanings

With the implementation of the Group Areas Act in 1950, the concept of
segregating racial groups, stemming from the Population Registration Act,
was further put to practice. Under the guise of contributing to the plight of
the urban poor and their slum-related problems and ensuring peace, safety
and prosperity for all South Africans, separate living areas for each racial
group were established, hence the so-called ‘group areas’.

it furthermore also granted the Coloured population home ownership, it
even became more extraordinary and progressive. In carrying out the
Belhar Guideplan, which envisaged a model township for the more affluent
Coloured, the Chamber of Commerce housing scheme was here established
as a progressive scheme for both the salaried and waged workers.

What hence became known as the Belhar Chamber of Commerce Group
Housing project was in fact three schemes (Murray, 2011, p. 12). The Belhar
I area, comprising extensions 1 to 4 and 6 to 7, was a fairly standard scheme
where the architectural firm Uytenboogaardt and Macaskell in collaboration
with UPRU, provided two types of houses: single residential conventional
housing types19 for the higher earning ‘salaried’ staff, purchased at R7,500
and low-cost group housing clustered on smaller plots for the lesser
earning ‘waged’ workers, purchased at R5,50020. In what was known as the
Belhar II area, extensions 9 to 16 and Belhar III, extensions 18 to 23, housing

36. Paraphrased as: ‘The main objective is to establish a
“new city” for the Coloured. This city in effect will have
a population of 10,000 to
12,000 families (50,000 to
70,000 people) and will
include a proper city centre,
sufficient job opportunities
and the whole range of
community facilities’.

37. Martin Puttill.

38. Paul Andrew, David
Dewar, George Ellis and
Roelof Uytenboogaardt.

39. Based on suburban housing models that were
already supplied in Fish Hoek (Murray, 2011, p. 11).

40. Since the Chamber of Commerce granted
home ownership at a low cost, the Divisional
Council of the Cape which commissioned the
project, also allocated land to the Chamber at the
low cost of R1,500 and R3,000 per plot (R2½/sm.
Housing scheme to help local backlog, 15-06-1974,
Cape Times).

41. R2½m. Housing scheme to help local backlog, 15-06-1974, Cape Times.

Yet, against the background of the Group Housing Code, the concept of ‘group housing’ has a completely different meaning as it has to be understood in a more literal way. As such, the meaning of ‘group housing’ here can be found in the physical appearance of the housing fabric, being a ‘group of separate or linked or attached dwellings on smaller than conventional erfs and planned as a harmonious architectural entity with a single-dwelling character’ (Uytenbogaardt & Macaskill, 1978, p. 7). The ambition of these group housing projects was not so much to create separate living areas but rather to combat urban sprawl by providing a high density form of development as an alternative to the typical Cape flats. Within the Belhar I Group Housing project, the housing typologies for the waged workers should hence be interpreted in this latter meaning. Further in this master dissertation, referring to the group housing concept against the background of the Group Housing Code, ‘group housing’ as such will always be written in without capital letters.

Recognising that Uytenbogaardt and the UPRU, as mentioned in the text box above, aimed at a suitable architectural identity for the Coloured, the article in the Cape Times subsequently points out that the design of Uytenbogaardt’s houses was to be aesthetic and was supposed to provide the residents with a feeling of conviviality and community responsibility. The Belhar Chamber of Commerce Group Housing project therefore offered the owners the possibility to assist the planners and hence encourage the improvement of the properties at their disposal, proclaiming that ‘[…] the need to have faith in the people to live in a civilised manner, control over the frontages and backs of the homes is given to the owners. A full range of opportunities is provided for them to plant flowers, establish stoeps⁴¹, or to construct trellises’ (R2½m. Housing scheme to help local backlog, 15-06-1974, Cape Times). Likewise, in addition to the basic provision of a primary school, two churches, two crèches, a shop and town hall, the project also envisaged ‘community option areas’ where the community could choose the social facilities they furthermore required.

Roelof Uytenbogaardt

Having developed more than 70 buildings and projects under his name, Roelof Uytenbogaardt can be considered a major influence on South African architecture. Being educated at UCT’s School of Architecture and having obtained several master degrees abroad, including in the United States and Europe, Uytenbogaardt was able to develop a broad perspective on urban issues and was thoroughly influenced by concepts from abroad. His contributions through practical projects have been subject to several awards including the award-winning buildings of the Steinkopf Community Hall, UWC’s Sports Stadium and the Community Hall of Belhar (Brink, 2012, p. 9). Besides being a renowned architect, Uytenbogaardt was also appreciated for his work as one of South Africa’s leading urban designers and was the founder of UCT’s Urban Problems Research Unit (UPRU) in 1974. More details on the UPRU and Uytenbogaardt’s position herein will be discussed further on in this master dissertation.

BELHAR I

Belhar I, pilot project, extension 1

⁴¹ A ‘stoep’ can be understood as an outwards extension of the house towards the street, physically reaching out and linking the house with the public domain. A veranda type of development can for example be seen as a ‘stoep’.
The realisation of the Belhar I Chamber of Commerce Group Housing project started off with a pilot scheme of more than 300 houses in the first extension of Belhar. The planning documents in 1974 show that the scheme consisted of 114 conventional houses and 200 group houses. The minister’s approval meant that for the first time private concerns were allowed to develop large-scale housing projects on behalf of their employees (Unieke Projek in Belhar, 30-11-74, Die Burger). In the Chamber’s pilot scheme 58 companies were involved and the project was heavily over-subscribed, both by firms and by future residents. A waiting list of a further 100 firms had been established by the Chamber and the Divisional and City Council were immediately approached to allocate more land for this kind of projects (300 houses for the coloured, 04-12-1974, Cape Argus).

The group housing scheme for the waged workers within extension 1 eventually consisted of 310 houses. It was the first of any kind in the country and considered to be very controversial as the project, designed by Uytenbogaardt, was established after the idea of the Dutch ‘woonerv’. This hence meant that parking was grouped away from the built houses and that notions of public space were given particular attention by building the houses around mostly pure pedestrianised collective spaces. Uytenbogaardt had already hoped to enhance social bonding and hence collective care taking of the physical environment (Davidson, 04-10-2012).

Though, as it is in practical terms impossible to have no car access at all in a scheme comprising of 310 houses, Uytenbogaardt planned four types of streets with a different level of car allowance. In establishing this, he at the same time incorporated different living environments ranging from well accessible areas on the outskirts from the project to calm and safe car-free pedestrian areas on the inside. In the booklet ‘The Chamber of Commerce Belhar group housing – house type and living zone selection’, Uytenbogaardt described these different types.

42. ‘Group housing’ as in ‘group housing’ according to the Group Housing Code.
43. A woonerv, literally translated as ‘residential yard’, can be better understood as a public space within the residential fabric where car access is not allowed.
44. This booklet was a document issued by the UCT research group and is written as an information booklet for the future residents of this project.
As mentioned before, the Belhar I Group Housing project aimed at a participatory process wherein home-owners-to-be are involved in the design process of their house and the infill of public spaces. Scheduling three meetings, this group housing initiative for the waged workers also implemented this philosophy. During the first collective meeting, information was given on the different living zones and associated housing types which hence enabled the people listed for the project to choose alongside which street type and in which housing type they wanted to live (UCT Housing Research Group, n.d., pp. 4 & 5). After that meeting a personal discussion with the Housing Office staff, including the architect was scheduled. As all the houses were designed with a possibility to expand by adding an extra room in the back, people during this stage could choose whether they would include this. Furthermore this session provided the opportunity to express general comments on the design of the house. Once these two first steps were brought to an end, in a later stage the infill of the public space was discussed, as was mentioned in the booklet: ‘Once everyone knows who their neighbours will be, we will have other opportunities to meet, this time by streets, to discuss information and matters of interest about the scheme. It will be an opportunity for you to perhaps discuss future matters like lift clubs, nursery school groups etc.’ (UCT Housing Research Group, n.d., p. 5).

However, whether this participation process was a success, is very doubtful as after its realisation it became clear that most inhabitants did not like the woonerf-concept as proposed by Uytenbogaardt. Since they could not park their cars close enough to their homes to watch over them, when people moved into the scheme they hence started driving on the walkways to park next to their unit (Pentz, 19-09-2012). So eventually the walkways that were designed for pedestrian use only became roads where residents drove on. Yet, according to Davidson (04-10-2012), it nonetheless was the most effective woonerf-design he had ever seen since the tightness of the design prevented people from speeding.
Belhar I, phase 1, extensions 2 to 4

On February 13th of 1975, The Cape Argus headed 'Another thousand homes for the Coloureds' further quoting that 'employers will again be invited to participate in a consortium to develop housing at cost on behalf of their Coloured employees'. With these 1,000 homes the next phase of the Belhar I Chamber of Commerce project, encompassing extensions 2 to 4, hence started off in a response to the rapid progress that was made in the pilot project in extension 1.

Extension 2

Being the first to be established, extension 2 comprised an amount of 275 conventional houses explicitly built for Coloured salaried workers of the member companies of the Chamber of Commerce.

Extension 3

After extension 2 which only comprised conventional houses, extension 3 was planned for both 117 conventional houses and 182 group houses. The group housing scheme in extension 3 entailed different types of housing varying in size, ranging from one to three bedrooms and detached or single standing.

The figures herein show the variation in housing type, as displayed in the front view, a section- and floor plan of the house. Hence the X-type is a single standing house where the R-type is a terraced typology. Furthermore the X1- and R1-type only has one bedroom while the X2 and R2 have two and X3-type has three bedrooms. And lastly the a, b, or c notation at the end of the X-typologies refer to the different kind of roof constructions.
Cape Flats on Chestnut Way

Group housing project ext. 3.

(type x2c)
Floor plan (NARS Archives, Cape Town): p. 45 upper left corner
Street elevation (NARS Archives, Cape Town): p. 45 lower left corner
Housing typology: p. 45 lower right corner

(type r1)
Floor plan (NARS Archives, Cape Town): p. 45 upper right corner
Street elevation (NARS Archives, Cape Town): p. 46 top
Housing typology: p. 46 centre

Flats in ext. 3.

Housing typology: p. 46 bottom
In extension 3 of the Belhar I Chamber of Commerce area a third type of housing was provided in the form of 360 flat-units besides the 117 conventional and 182 group houses. Yet, as these three-storey walk-up flats were built by the government as rental stock dealing with the overflow of forcibly removed people in Elsiesrivier, they are not part of the Chamber of Commerce concept (Davidson, 04-10-2012).

At that time, as a response to the rising demand for housing after the forced removals of Coloureds and together with the population growth, these flats were considered a popular type of large-scale Group Housing provision, filling in the demand for higher density housing (Key plan to develop Cape Flats, 22-04-1966, Cape Times). Though, besides the increase in density, the shift to the provision of flats also meant another type of construction, building materials and quality standards. Methods that came into use included the concept of industrial building where factory-made and prefabricated components were being used as means to speed up the building process and as such attain cheapness of the construction.

Extension 4

The last extension that was part of the first phase of the Belhar I scheme was extension 4 which was entirely planned and built according to the conventional type of residential units which catered for a middle class clientele. In total a number of 432 dwelling units were erected and sold to individual owners.

Belhar I, phase 2, extensions 6 to 7

The second phase of the Belhar I Chamber of Commerce project comprised extensions 6 and 7 and was launched in 1976. In analogy with the first phase companies were again selected to commit themselves to the realisation of affordable housing for their employees. The area of this second phase became furthermore known as the ‘musical-area’ due to music related street names such as for example Piano Crescent, Beethoven Close and Tambourine Street.
Nevertheless, the planned group housing was only partially realised, due to a replacement by a small gated community for the former Coloured Representatives. In contrast with its middle class surroundings, 65 houses, a swimming pool and tennis courts were established, being fenced off and partially closed off with a wall. More on this topic can be found in the text box below.

Coloured representation in Belhar: Coloured Representatives Council and Belhar Management Committee

In 1974 the Coloured Representatives Council was established under the leadership of Erika Theron, a University of Stellenbosch sociologist and Nationalist Party member whose aim was to influence the quality of living conditions and education of Coloured people during apartheid (Murray, 2011, p. 12). Although the liberalism of Theron was focused on the ‘plight of Coloured people’, since the Coloured Representatives Council still remained an implementation of the apartheid ideology to separate development by race, it was to a large extent negatively evaluated by the Coloured population itself. Within the Coloured population, the Coloured parliamentarians were seen as collaborators in support of the apartheid’s regime just as one of the Belhar residents refers to them as: ‘they were riding the gravy train’ (Engel, 01-09-2012). The fact that the Coloured Representatives Chamber was indeed just an enforcement of apartheid’s policy was in 2002 furthermore admitted by a former member of the Commission itself as Terreblanche hence wrote that it ‘did not denounce apartheid [… but] endorsed some of its principal features’ (in Murray, 2011, p. 4).

In wanting to establish a Coloured neighbourhood in the Cape Flats, against the background of the Group Areas Act both UWC as Coloured university and Belhar as Coloured township as well as the senate building of the...
Coloured Representatives Council next to UWC were brought together in one Coloured group area (De Vree, Lanckriet & Van Doorslaer 2009). Furthermore, it was intended that the housing facilities for the staff member of the Representatives Council would also be located in Belhar, which was hence done in extension 6 thus again stressing the identity of the area as a Coloured enclave and Belhar in particular as ‘spogbuurt’ (De Vree, Lanckriet & Van Doorslaer 2009). As such, the before mentioned general displeasure about the institute of the Coloured Representatives Council became also present in Belhar which was headed in the Cape Argus on August 27th of 1984: ‘Residents reject prospective neighbours (sic)’. New MPs not welcome here – Belhar. The objection of the residents was formulated by the Belhar Civic Association after organising a poll among the inhabitants. Besides ideological objections, the placement of parliamentarians in Belhar was furthermore perceived as unwanted because of the great amount of expenses that were tied to the project. The project was a multi-million Rand exercise, carried out by the government and would comprise of 65 luxury homes whereas meanwhile the government could not make funds available for the housing needs of about 50,000 lower income families.

Another matter concerning the representation of the Coloured population arose with the debate around the establishment of a Management Committee in Belhar. Correspondences in 1979 indicate that the government wanted to establish such a committee in order to create an official body that would be appointed to communicate with the Divisional Council of the Cape (Local Government of Coloured Communities, 1979). This idea led to great discontent among the residents of Belhar, especially since the Belhar Civic Association already functioned as a democratically chosen civic body representing the people, albeit not in an official 15% of organisation.

The main problem with the appointment of the Management Committee was its link to the apartheid government as it based on a separate Coloured vote and the Group Areas Act, would be operating under White rule (Local Government of Coloured Communities, 1979). This is hence why, according to the Belhar residents, could not be seen as a democratic body (Nuwe komitee laat gemoedere opval, 18-01-1878, Report). As such, in an interview that was printed in the Belhar News in December 1987 with Mr. McMaster, chairman of the Belhar Civic Association, he argued that Belharians should unite to form resistance to the establishment of the Management Committee. According to McMaster, by self-organisation and unity, the inhabitants would stand stronger against the oppressive regime. As such, in conclusion, he emphasised his words by using the motto: ‘Eendrag maakt mag, tweedrag breekt krag’65 (The end for the regime is not far off, 12-1987, Belhar News).

Squatters at Modderdam

Due to the implementation of the Bantu-strategy, which did not allow permanent residence for Black people, Black squatter communities emerged across the Cape Town periphery (District 6 Museum, 08-10-2012). Hence while Belhar was expanding step by step, the area north of Erica, which is now known as the nature reserve of UWC, became occupied by hundreds of illegal Black squatters living in harsh conditions. Nevertheless in 1976, the time when extension 6 was established, authorities became allowed to destroy any illegal dwelling without prior notice in carrying out the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act. As such, according to an article found in the Cape Herald on June the 16th, a raid had been commissioned in response to complaints by people in surrounding townships, particularly from residents living in the prestigious Belhar township claiming that they had been molested by the squatters on the same matter. (I’ve had enough, 16-06-1976, Cape Herald).

Indeed on the 6th of June 1976, the Sunday Times had reported raids by police and Bantu Administration Board officials on the squatter camp on Modderdam Road narrating that a ‘shameful and utterly inhuman decision of the Bantu Administration […] (swooped) on Black squatters in the middle of the night in driving rain’. Strikingly, in interviewing Davidson (04-10-2012) and talking about the planning history of Belhar, the same catastrophe was brought to the fore which he described as follows: ‘[…][I’ll never forget that sight, […] I edged into my memory like nothing on earth. There were these mostly African women standing on the side of the road with these blankets with the bundles of their provision (and) with their children crying. And you had these blackened dunes going across Modderdam. And on one of the dunes, one of the priests who was working with the community built up the dunes, one of the priests who was working with the community built up the dunes, so the blackened smoke, that horror, with one white cross standing there. […] It was very politically involved and there were a couple of turning points in my life which made me politically involved with the elaboration struggle. And that sight of that Modderdam, the destruction of that Modderdam squatter camp was, pfff, was one worst I’ve ever seen in my life. It was really disgusting.’

As such, it became even more striking to read that other media sources than the Sunday Times, such as Die Burger, pointed out a whole different version of the event: ‘Police from Cape Town and surrounding areas were summoned hastily to Belville South before midnight last night when inspectors of the Bantu Administration were attacked by about 200 squatters. The inspectors were attacked while they were busy with a routine task in the squatter
Because of the speed in which the plots were sold and the dwellings were erected, the company could save up to R94,000 which was redistributed to the buyers of the PCA dwellings with an average amount of R523 per household (Huiskopers kry vet tjeks, 14-06-1980, Die Burger).

In relation to the group housing, the typology which was developed was a mixture of single residential units and clustered housing in the shape of double-storey maisonettes. The latter type allowed for higher densities and were developed along several variations according to number of bedrooms.

In establishing extension 7 an extra partner was involved in the provision of housing for the Coloured employees of the member firms. The reason to involve private funds into the provision of housing was the growing lack of funds from the Department of Community Development to develop new housing. Here the Chamber acted in collaboration with the Peninsula Community Association (PCA), a non-profitmaking organisation administered by the Citizens’ Housing League. This private utility company bought the land from the Divisional Council of the Cape and developed the plots in order to sell them off without profit. As a result of the involvement of the PCA a total of 558 dwellings were erected, both of the conventional style (230 units) and as group housing (328 units) with a medium density of 10 to 15 dwelling units per ha (Urban Design Services, 1992, p. 17).

The project was received with great enthusiasm, being heavily oversubscribed with more than 500 requests (Malkop stormloop na huise, 11-12-1977, Report).
Belhar I, lived space

The Chamber of Commerce housing project in Belhar was the first in its kind and for many Coloured people it was the first opportunity in their lives to obtain a home of their own. Nevertheless, it was not all cakes and ale as there were also problems related to this pilot scheme.

First of all some of the residents felt disappointed by the end result of the houses upon delivery. The people felt cheated upon because the buildings turned out to be smaller and made out of cheaper materials than they expected them to be.

Secondly, basic community facilities incorporated in the layout plans, such as school sites, were up until January 1975 not established (Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, 10-02-1975). By 1978 this lack of social amenities still consisted as the Cape Times on July 12th reported that although there were already 2,000 houses built in Belhar, there were no provisions made that related to recreational or community facilities (Houses for Belhar but no amenities, 12-07-1978, Cape Times).

In consequence, due to the lack of amenities people were not stimulated to get to know each other. Hence although it was one of the main goals, the project as such turned out to feed a complete lack of community feeling since inhabitants were missing their friends and a familiar environment (A home of their own, 30-07-1977, Cape Herald).

Furthermore, a survey within the area pointed out that member companies of the Chamber of Commerce gave different kind of subsidies to their employees ranging between 30 and 75% (Davidson, 04-10-2012). Given the fact that the purchase price for a house was the same for each company, different categories of workers could hence obtain a similar house within the Belhar I scheme. Although, the variation in income was sometimes as little as between R5 and R10 a month, class consciousness and the social awareness of people was very high as people would not let their children play outside because of the lower class people staying next door. In conclusion, one could point out that the lack of a community feeling, which was mentioned before, worsened as it was reinforced by a strong class consciousness which was more profound than planners ever imagined in that particular time (Davidson, 04-10-2012).

The archival research furthermore revealed the intention of the designers to add elements of landscaping into their design. For most of the intended public spaces, the specific details were drawn on paper. These elements of landscaping included greenery, street furniture and recreational facilities such as swings and benches. However, when looking at the present condition of these public spaces, it is noticeable that little to no landscaping took place, as will be discussed more thoroughly in the narrative ‘divided neighbourhood’ within the second chapter of this master dissertation.
After the Belhar I project comprising the extensions 1 to 4 and 6 to 7, a second and third Chamber of Commerce scheme was designed by Uytenbogaardt and Macaskill. The formulation and design of the Belhar II and IIIa Chamber of Commerce project was carried out in a report on town planning provisions in 1978 and covers the planning of extensions 9 to 22 except for extension 17. In the total area of approximately 284ha, 5,500 dwelling units were planned with a suggested population of 30,000 people or more. For this project around R9,4 million was allocated for home-building (Belhar gets a R9,4m boost for home-building, 28-06-1978).
to the individual residential housing concept. Uytenbogaardt also promoted individual initiative in personalising and improving houses, which would help him to provide a variety of housing instead of a uniform architectural character (Uytenbogaardt & Macaskill, 1978, p. 2).

Urban design principles of the masterplan

Based upon the social engineering principles of that time traffic consultants were appointed to investigate access to the Belhar II and IIIa Chamber of Commerce area as well as to investigate anticipated vehicle ownership levels. Presuming that the level of vehicle ownership would rise and higher order external transportation infrastructure was already laid out prior to this planning process, the report of these consultants mostly paid attention to the local access and collector road layout. They hence proposed a schematic plan to indicate the principles which should be apprehended and pointed out that other details with regard to the transportation network would have to achieve attention during the detailed design phase of the project (Uytenbogaardt & Macaskill, 1978c, p. 6).

Housing typologies

One of the principles underlying the concept of group housing, as was expressed in the Group Housing Code, was that group housing should be ‘planned, designed and built as a harmonious architectural entity with a single architectural character’ (Uytenbogaardt & Macaskill, 1978, p. 2). Yet Uytenbogaardt criticises this in his design report for the Chamber of Commerce Belhar II and Illa project, saying that ‘people at very low income levels (such as expected in the Belhar II and Illa project) cannot reasonably be made to comply with uniform aesthetic standards or patterns of expansion such as might be expected of a (rich) resident of a marina for example’ (Uytenbogaardt & Macaskill, 1978, p. 2). Keeping in mind the target group and the scale of the Belhar II and Illa area, Uytenbogaardt argued that an architectural unity on this scale, combined with a low socio-economic class would result in a weak type of urban fabric (Uytenbogaardt & Macaskill, 1978, p. 2). As a result, in the scheme of Uytenbogaardt, the ideas behind the housing typologies were to be found between the concepts embodied in traditional single residential housing and those of the new Group Housing Code. As such the housing on plan envisaged a proportion of 95% of single and semi-detached housing and 5% of terraced dwelling units (Uytenbogaardt & Macaskill, 1978, p. 7). Furthermore, related

Cape Times). The scheme would provide for both single and double storey units which all would have an average size of 200m² and a minimum size of 120m². Furthermore a density of 20 dwelling units per ha was programmed (Uytenbogaardt & Macaskill, 1978, p. 1).

The main purpose of the scheme was the urgent requirement for housing for the resettlement of Coloured families from neighbouring areas such as Elsiesrivier, Bellville South, Ravensmead and Parow (Provincial Administration on the Cape of Good Hope, 1978). The primary focus was to provide housing for the people of the economic and sub-economic income group and therefore rental units were made available, keeping in mind that these units at a later stage could be converted into a selling scheme. The design report adds that the difference between economic and sub-economic housing solely is reflected in a different standard of finish. The costs that were estimated to implement 2,500 economic housing units were about R11,5-million whilst a number of 3,000 sub-economic housing units were estimated at a cost of R12,6-million. In addition another R600,000 was estimated for the cost of the provision of community facilities and R1,05-million was supposed to be spend on landscaping (Uytenbogaardt & Macaskill, 1978, p. 10).

Housing typologies

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Moreover, as Murray points out, the basis of the plan was the gathering together of public life to make ‘collective places’ (Murray, 2011, p. 12). The idea of the public realm was an important element in the urban design of Uytenbogaardt which he indeed furthermore applied in his plan, pointing out that each central square should be surrounded by terraced double storey units, should be treed, and would constitute the main local amenity including a local play lot (Murray, 2011, p. 12). By furthermore implementing the ‘stoep’-element, the connection between dwelling and street was enhanced. These terraced houses as such would cumulatively function as ‘walls’ surrounding ‘outside rooms’ which was a favoured idea in Uytenbogaardt’s design approach inspired by the cities of Italy in particular (Murray, 2011, p. 15).

When a primary or secondary school made up the centre of a residential cell the same philosophy was incorporated. In creating an internal collective feeling, schools were positioned in a manner that all sides of the plot were surrounded with houses. Access to the school plot became only provided at deliberate points of entry, hence mostly where the pinwheel-streets started, in order to avoid large disruptions in the continuity and cohesiveness of the urban patchwork. The idea behind this was also to eliminate long, dead and unsupervised edges within the housing fabric which were regarded as both unsightly and dangerous (Uytenbogaardt & Macaskill, 1978, p. 5).

As a result Murray points out that the urban design of the Belhar II and I I lla Chamber of Commerce project is ‘a mixture of internationally current New Town planning ideas interpreted through studies of European and Eastern ‘old city’ layouts, adapted to the South African conditions and a stylistic mixture of local and regionalist architectural types’.
Furthermore, both the paper of Murray and the interview with Davidson (04-10-2012) point out that the ideas of Christopher Alexander in his work ‘Pattern Language’ was of important influence to the design theories of that time. When looking at the masterplan of the Belhar II and Illa project, it is hence noticeable that Uytenbogaardt also tried to develop his own ‘pattern language’ as he tried to implement a sense of place-making by incorporating the way in which people use certain spaces instead of creating a housing scheme that was based on strict rational and cost-saving arguments which was envisaged by the Blue Book. In conclusion, Davidson puts it as follows (04-10-2012): ‘…Roelof did something different to the Blue Book. The grid which he developed there and the language which he developed there …was very interesting …To my point it was the furthest evolved housing scheme that was ever done in South Africa in terms of the regard of the intellectual language which went into the space making, …he tried to create a language’.

Revision of the Belhar II and Illa masterplan

According to Davidson (04-10-2012), Uytenbogaardt’s masterplan for the Belhar II and Illa Chamber of Commerce project was very controversial for its time. Introducing the pinwheel-based street pattern, the spatial design first of all did not follow the standard regulations that were set out by the Blue Book. Furthermore it implemented a new type of group housing different from the Group Housing Code and incorporated the public space as a central element in its design. This was perceived as very progressive since inclusion of public space was unusual, especially in housing plans conceived under apartheid. Hence, as Murray puts it, this urban design approach by Uytenbogaardt can be seen as a formal type of resistance, by focusing on the creation of liveable spaces (Murray, 2011, p. 16).

Although the masterplan as drawn by Uytenbogaardt was controversial, it was initially approved by the authorities which was amongst others pointed out by the Divisional Council: ‘Although the scheme as it does not fit exactly into any zoning category available in terms of the existing Divisional Council Town Planning statement, the Divisional Council is in the process of revising the statement’ (Uytenbogaardt & Macaskill, 1978, p. 3). Furthermore, the masterplan was also discussed by consultants appointed by the director of Local Government who commented the following on the scheme: ‘With regard to the detail of the layout it can be mentioned that the proposed grid type of design is not the conventional approach. The consultants however feel that the grid pattern as well as the unusual road pattern reserves forms part of their urban design concepts and in the light thereof this Section will support it’ (Director of local government, 1979).

Nevertheless, further research showed that, given the fact that it was considered to be too experimental, due to a dropping flow of funding at the end of the 1970s and a rising demand for housing for the forcibly removed people from the city centre, in 1979 the original scheme was cancelled by the Divisional Council of the Cape (Divisional Council of the Cape, 25-01-1979). It was as such no surprise to find a handwritten note in the NARS stating that: ‘Mr. Uytenbogaardt phoned on the 3rd of March 1980 and said that they (the architectural firm Uytenbogaardt and Macaskill) had nothing to do with this ext (extension) anymore. It is now completely in the hands of the Divisional Council (Mr. Coetzee)’. 

Rejection of the Belhar II and Illa masterplan
After the abolishment of the original scheme the area became reallocated to different departments (Divisional Council of the Cape, 25-03-1980). As for extensions 10 to 13, it was decided that this area was handed over to the Department of Community Development in exchange for the land that at a later stage would become extension 17 and 1,400 plots in Mitchells Plain (R19-m allocated for 1500 Belhar houses, 02-07-1980, Cape Argus). Extension 14 on the other hand would stay in the hands of the Divisional Council whilst the extensions 15 and 16 were also assigned to the Department of Community Development. Extension 9, which also became the property of the Divisional Council, was given a special treatment as it, despite the rejection of the complete masterplan, became the only extension which was carried out in analogy to the original design. Analysing the revised plan furthermore shows that whereas the original plan covered the whole area up to the R300, the new plan did not incorporate the Belhar IIa part, east of Belhar drive. This part at a later stage would become known as the ‘self-help area comprising the extensions 18 to 22. As such, all of these extensions and their specific planning details will be discussed further on.

With regard to the redesign of the plan, as a high amount of costs were already spend to the planning and design of Uytenbogaardt’s masterplan, the street pattern and the land uses appointed to the area by Uytenbogaardt
As discussed before, extension 9 of Belhar, comprising of 255 dwelling units was the only part of the original design by Uytenbogaardt that made it into realisation and was hence the only part of the Belhar II and IIIa original scheme that was developed in collaboration with the Chamber of Commerce. Its main purpose was to cater for the overflow of low income families from neighbouring areas, such as Elsiesrivier, Parow and Bellville South. (Provincial Administration on the Cape of Good Hope, 1979). The overflow of people in these areas was a consequence of the forced removals carried out by the regime on the one hand and an urbanizing flow of people coming into Cape Town on the other hand. According to Davidson (04-10-2012), Elsiesrivier for example was one of the attraction points in Cape Town and functioned as a key place of arrival for rural migrants, whereas the same can be said about Khayelitsha today. What was found across those areas was a mixture of rural migrants on the one hand and displaced urban dwellers on the other which also had an impact on the whole class structure of places like Belhar.

The small section which was built consisted of amongst other ochre-brown dwellings, which were due to their colour called 'Kerriehuise' (Davidson, 04-10-2012). The dwellings in this section were positioned around a central space (type E), placed together along the notions of collective spaces as discussed before.

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The Belhar Community Hall, Uytenbogaardt and Rozendal

In the 1980s Uytenbogaardt and Norbert Rozendal were commissioned to design the Belhar Community Hall (Murray, 2011, fig. 1). Fitting within the only realised part of the masterplan of the Belhar II and III project, this multi-purpose building, with facilities for indoor sports and theatre performances, became located in extension 9.

Being influenced by the demand for postmodern historicism and developing ideas around what they believed to be a suitable architectural identity for people designated ‘Coloured’, Uytenbogaardt and Rozendal designed the public building with references to the traditional African architecture and its immediate context (Marschall, & Kearney, 2000, p. 120). Though, as is pointed out by Owen (1989, p. 13), besides elements of traditional architecture, the community hall also has references to the Cape colonial farmhouse as ‘the walled forecourt […] is analogous to the enclosed werf, or front yard, of the Cape Dutch colonial farmhouse, and the full-width colonnade of the Community Hall recalls the stoep of the same precedent.’

Later on in 1984 this community hall received an award by the Awards Jury of Architecture SA and in 1987 it furthermore got cited commenting on its ‘consistently imaginative design in which much has been achieved with limited means, while the negative architectural connotations of the usual community hall, have been completely avoided’ (Murray, 2011, p. 15; Marschall, & Kearney, 2000, p. 121). In 2000, in their book ‘Opportunities for Relevance: Architecture in New South Africa’, Marschall and Kearney devoted a passage to this community hall.

Though, as Uytenbogaardt’s idea was developed around the concept of ethnicised notions of space making, according to Owen (1989, p. 13), the building was not only positively evaluated as he mentions that ‘What is clearly in conception a conscientious and thoughtful project oscillates among readings both positive and negative: A patronizing pseudo-vernacular? ‘Civilizing’ colonial forms? Or a composition sufficiently abstracted for such readings to be only incidental to its users?’. Further commenting on this statement, according to Murray (2011, p. 16) there are no clear answers to these questions. Though, what is clear is ‘that Uytenbogaardt was aware of a wide range of precedents which he used to inform his designs, and that his use of these concentrated on how they provided formal clues for spatial design, very often setting aside the cultural and social conditions under which these spaces were produced. Ethnicised readings of space were clearly a part of his readings of precedent, and although these were abstracted into a universalist position, his notions of publics and spaces often appear to be connected to ideas of the mass public in South Africa under apartheid, with all the underlying associations of race and class’. More information on this unclear ideological position of the Urban Problems Research Unit (UPRU), of which Uytenbogaardt forms a part, can be found at the end of the second part of this chapter.

Belhar II (revised), extensions 10 to 13

With limited means, while the negative architectural connotations of the usual ‘community hall’, have been completely avoided (Murray, 2011, p. 15; Marschall, & Kearney, 2000, p. 121). In 2000, in their book ‘Opportunities for Relevance: Architecture in New South Africa’, Marschall and Kearney devoted a passage to this community hall.
Urban Design were changed. Yet, as these extensions were planned for a much poorer segment of society than was the case in the Belhar I Chamber of Commerce project or was intended in the original plan of Uytenbogaardt for the Belhar II area, former planners mention that with the development of these extensions social problems arose in Belhar. Indeed with the resettlement of the District Six people in this particular part of Belhar, due to the disrupted family structures, poverty, poor housing quality and lack of opportunities, the fundamentals for gang culture that already existed in District Six in the 1930s were spread out and still continue today (Davidson, 04-10-2012).

Furthermore examining the layout plan, it shows that extension 13 forms the most southern part of the area and is bounded by the Stellenbosch Arterial. In a comment made by the planning authorities, it is stated that a common wall was to be erected between the dwellings of extension 13 and the Stellenbosch Arterial. This was considered desirable in order to limit the number of entry points to the area in order to reduce traffic flows (Local Government of Coloured Communities, 1981). These kinds of restrictions, as already explained in the first part of this chapter, would appear more often throughout the planning of these residential townships and would hence have an enormous impact on the accessibility, thus enhancing the introvert character of the area. In the narrative ‘introvert cell’ of the following chapter the present effects of these regulations will be evaluated.

Belhar II (revised), extension 14

The revised design of extensions 10 to 13, carried out by the Department of Community Development, became primarily focused on the provision of rental economic and sub-economic housing for the people that were forcibly removed from other parts of Cape Town, in this case moreover from District Six. The layout plans for extensions 10 to 13 from 1980, as such were amended versions of the original scheme of Uytenbogaardt whereby housing typologies were changed and plot sizes were reduced. This as such led to lower quality housing standards and an increased overall gross density from 18.1 to 19.0 families per ha which augmented the number of residential units with 71 to a total amount of 1,618. (Provincial Administration of the Cape of Good Hope, 1980).

The comments of the Townships Board with regard to the revised layout plans were that: ‘All these amendments are acceptable to this section as the increased density will not negatively influence the planned facilities, although it is a pity the house types and erf sizes as proposed by the Uytenbogaardt...’
The small section of extension 14 was given to the Divisional Council of the Cape for development after the revision of the original scheme. Whereas extensions 10 to 13 and the extensions 15 and 16 were developed by the Department of Community Development as subsidised housing programmes, this extension was to be developed as serviced sites and as a self-help project. The reason why a different approach was carried out in extension 14 was to provide a range of options within the framework of the State’s new housing policy and to provide a maximum degree of choice of housing. The aim was to create variety in the urban environment and to create a balanced development in order to ensure the financial viability of the local area (Divisional Council of the Cape, 08-08-1983).

In terms of this housing policy, extension 14 was thus to be developed as a mixture of both serviced erfs and as a self-help project. Accordingly, it was considered necessary to amend the erf sizes and hence slightly increase the average plot size. This as such resulted in a reduction of the potential number of erfs to an amount of 268 available plots (Divisional Council of the Cape, 08-08-1983).

42. More details on the idea behind the concept of ‘self-help’ can be found in ‘Belhar IIIa (revised), extensions 18 to 22’.
After the revision of the original Belhar II scheme, both extensions 10 to 13 and extensions 15 and 16 were allocated to the Department of Community Development. Hence, developed to serve the economic and sub-economic segment, similar to extensions 10 to 13 a public housing scheme was laid out. In providing housing for people earning less than R150 per month extension 15 entailed the erection of 48 dwellings while extension 16 provided 414 units.

Furthermore it has to be mentioned that as extension 16 is situated alongside Belhar Drive, the revised layout plan of 1981 also clearly marked one site for commercial and one for governmental purposes. Later on in 1991, as these sites were still left open, the planning of both of these sites was further refined in the Belhar Local Structure Plan. Again, though perfectly detailed schemes of both plots were then implemented, the final realisation of these plots would still take many years. What would become known as the Airport Shopping Mall located on Stellenbosch Arterial would only be carried out in 2007, while the development of Huguenot Square with its civic services oriented on Belhar Drive, is even up until today not yet completely realised.

Belhar II (revised), lived space

The original masterplan of Uytenbogaardt had the intention to build a proper densified urban environment. However, with the revision of the plan due to the growing housing need and dropping funds, the once ambitious scheme gradually transformed into a more crisis-related type of housing provision aimed at quantity instead of providing an integral urban area of quality.

This change in ambition for the housing fabric led to dissatisfaction amongst the receivers. The Cape Times reports in July 1984, that about 100 residents picketed the Belhar rent offices. The people travelled to the office of the regional departmental representatives to voice complaints about the despicable maintenance of houses and high rentals. With regard to the quality of the houses, problems arose as houses were not finished off by the contractors. As a consequence people had to invest more money to plaster and paint the homes themselves. Furthermore the monthly costs for the tenders turned out to be much higher than was promised (Call for Belhar homes, 18-03-79, Cape Times). Die Burger therefore headed in 1984: ‘Probleme in Belhar: Ontevredenheid oor hoe huur’48. According to Die Burger, tenders had to spend sometimes up to 50% of their income to their rent, which was such a high proportion that it became very difficult for people to survive economically. Other items of expense were the high costs for electricity and high expenses on transportation due to the large distances people were forced to travel to work (Belhar Civic Association, 1983).

Another report from 1983 reports ‘Belhar boos oor huise’49 and discusses the various complaints with regard to the attitude of the Department of Community Development which residents experienced as a ‘traaktmynie-agtige houding’50. According to the article, people moved into homes which already had broken windows upon delivery. It furthermore reports the large number of people that were being evicted due to arrears in rent (Belhar boos oor huise, 14-08-1983). As a response to these evictions, the residents organised themselves in protests against the methods of the Department carrying slogans stating ‘Stop evicting our people. Out with Apartheid. Give us bread’ (Leerlinge stap oor huurgeld, uiteengejaag, 28-7-1990, Die Burger). However, the response from authorities was fierce as protestors were dispersed by the police using rubber bullets.

Besides the problems relating to bad housing conditions, high rents and poverty, the people of Belhar were also suffering from the lack of supporting...
51. Paraphrased as: ‘Who’s black hole is this? [...]
That is what the people of Belhar would like to
know. Several people have been robbed and
assaulted in the tunnel. People are being sent from
pillar to post but the mystery of the black hole
remains unsolved’.

In conclusion, in January 1982, the Cape Herald headed: ‘The Model
Township that went wrong’. In contrast to the initial intention of Belhar, as
being a township for the more wealthy Coloured population, the perceived
image of Belhar took a turn over time. The article reports that ‘Murder,
rape, robberies and assaults have turned the ‘model’ area of Belhar into one
of the worst crime spots in the Peninsula. People feel as if the government
forgot about the people of Belhar, while in the meantime the government
uses Belhar as an example towards other communities’.

Accordingly, a report in 1980, titled ‘Wie se swart gat is dit?’, mentioned
the following: ‘Verskeie mense is al in die donker gat beroof en aangerand.

Wie se donker gat is dit? Dit is wat die mense Belhar, een van die vinnig
ontwikkelende woonbuurte daar naby Bellville, vandag baie graag wil weet.
Verskeie inwoners is die afgelope tyd in hierdie swart gat aangerand en beroof.
En elke keer wanneer mense die verantwoordelike overheid begin soek,
werp hulle van balboord na stuurboord gestuur, maar steeds bly die geheim
van die swart gat onopgelos. 51 The ‘swart gat’, a pedestrianised underground
alley between Belhar and the Modderdam Station was perceived as a dark
and narrow strip without proper lighting and there were many accounts of
robberies and assaults occurring in and around that passway. Attempts to
bring up the matter to the authorities had no adequate results, since none
of the departments felt it was their responsibility to deal with the matter.
Hence even today this ‘swart gat’ still exists and in its present form still
cannot be considered a safe and pleasant passage. ‘Belhar people complain
of harassment’ (22-02-1982, Cape Times), was another headline found in
the Cape Times of 22nd February of 1982, which addressed safety issues
when travelling to and from the train stations. Especially for the residents
of extension 13 it was a hazardous daily walk of 45 minutes to the nearest
station where many people were raped and assaulted.

In a reaction to these problems, the Belhar Civic Association was established.
Issues that were taken care of by this organ were amongst other things the
appointment of a committee in extension 9 that battled against the high
rates of rent of the ‘Kerriehuizen’ and the opening of a consultation office
where residents could obtain advice concerning their status as tenders.
(The end for the regime is not far off, 12-1987).

Although there were examples concerning community organisation, such as
the Belhar Civic Association, at the same time concerns were made in
relation to the lack of a social cohesion and community feeling within
Belhar which was the indirect result of the forced removals that caused
not only the disruption of family structures, but also caused fragmentation
within tight communities. As for residential townships such as Belhar, it was
presumed that the people in these kinds of new enclaves would form a
tight community yet in practice this did not occur due to the different
backgrounds of people. Coming from different areas all over Cape Town,
including Ravensmead, Elsiesrivier, Melnerton, Phillipi, Uitsig en District Six,
it was not only a new location that was forced upon these people but also a
forced form of community life. Strikingly, the authorities concerned with the
development of residential areas such as Belhar operated under the name of
the Department of ‘Community Development’ hence putting a strong
emphasize on the rather utopian thought of community development
(Murray, 2011, p. 1).

The account of one of the residents who was relocated to Belhar, extension
13 and previously resided in District Six illustrates that ‘There is nothing but
sand in Belhar. They pestered us in District Six and now they do it again’
(Belhar people complain of harassment, 22-02-1982, Cape Times). Instead of
being a township with a bustling community life, Belhar was perceived as a
place not being considered an enjoyable environment, lacking the necessary
amenities and green areas. Simultaneously, the people in Belhar had to cope
with numerous social problems including alcohol abuse, secularity and crime
(Belhar Civic Association, 1983).

Accordingly, a report in 1980, titled ‘Wie se swart gat is dit?’, mentioned
the following: ‘Verskeie mense is al in die donker gat beroof en aangerand.
After the rejection of Uytenbogaardt’s masterplan, at the beginning of the 1980s the extension of Belhar further occurred eastward towards the R300. As in that time the on-going housing crisis necessitated the development of new housing strategies that would fit within the diminishing funds of the government, the Divisional Council of the Cape commissioned to develop the extensions 18 to 22 here started their first self-help scheme (Davidson, 04-10-2012).

Self-help concept

In practice, the self-help concept can be described as a scheme whereby housing construction needed to be done by the owners, whereas materials, technical assistance and plans were delivered by the government. With these materials the core house could be constructed which included the foundation, outside halls, bathroom walls, window frames, two door frames and the roof of the building (Willoughby, 1999, p. 31).

The primary advantage deriving from this approach was the flexibility of the scheme (Jaftha W.D., 04-09-2012). As people could buy additional building materials at their own expenses, houses were built and extended according to their own preferences, priorities and financial possibilities. Furthermore, through the provision of self-help training workshops that tried to equip people with skills to conduct their own house rather than offering them a finished product, independent attitudes towards the government became enhanced (Willoughby, 1999, p. 7). The process of building together and the sharing and exchange of knowledge and skills within a certain area, was also supposed to contribute to the cohesiveness of the community. Furthermore, the strategy behind the scheme also involved the idea that the quality of the house in general would be significantly higher in such construction because the owner would know he would be the final consumer of the product and therefore put more effort in it. As such, with this concept the authorities hoped to encounter financial restrictions whilst encouraging qualitative home-ownership for low income families and enhance less dependent attitudes towards the government.

Furthermore, as people appointed to participate in the project got a loan for the Divisional Council, they were selected from the housing waiting list using both waiting time and income level as criterion (Jaftha W.D., 04-09-2012). As such, in contrast to the subsidised schemes self-help areas attracted a slightly different class of persons. In consequence a lot of the self-help areas also turned out to be far more successful than they would have been.

A minimum monthly income of R800 was obliged (Jaftha W.D., 04-09-2012).
As a final note, it though has to mentioned that besides the positive outcomes and advantages of the self-help concept as pointed out before, there were also a certain number of problems that related to this type of scheme. The most important objection was due to the fact that the actual construction of the homes by individual families was often problematic because of a lack of skills and knowledge. Other difficulties to the scheme were related to the large timeframe in which the houses would eventually be completed due to financial capacity that could fluctuate over time (Willoughby, 1999, p. 30).

The housing scheme envisaged for extension 18 to 22 in a consequence became again a complete renewal from the previous masterplan of Uytenbogaart. The self-help scheme which was laid out in Belhar provided housing for about 2,000 families. As a result of the input and effort of individual owner-builders, great differences in architecture, size and quality were unavoidable. Furthermore, as a slightly higher class moved into this area, according to Davidson (04-10-2012), the self-help scheme in Belhar indeed contrasted with the poorer Belhar II area. Though in Belhar, due to a lack of skills and knowledge also construction problems arose moreover when it came to the implementation of the sanitation system (Jaftha W.D., 04-09-2012). Other difficulties to the Belhar self-help scheme were related to the large timeframe in which the houses would eventually be completed. Most residents obtained their plot in 1988 but were only able to reside there years later. The average time it took to complete the house was between five to eight years which was a discouraging factor within the building process. In a survey which was carried out in 1995, residents of the self-help area said it was a financial burden to complete the house because other necessities had to be sacrificed in order to complete the house (Willoughby, 1999, p. 30).

Furthermore, just as in the Belhar II project, the ambitions that were met with the scheme also changed over time. During the first phase of the project the plots would occupy 70m². At a later stage the plots decreased in size, until they would occupy only 55m². In relation to the street pattern, it can be noted that it was of a whole different character than the patchwork which was designed by Uytenbogaart in the previous section of Belhar. The original layout plan, in analogy with the section of Belhar II was rejected by the Department of Community Development on grounds of uniformity. It was commissioned that the street pattern in extension 18 to 22 would be carried out after the regulations as developed in the Blue Book. As a result the area was developed along a looped patchwork of streets that lacked a clear structure and was difficult in terms of determining one’s orientation (Davidson, 04-10-2012).
The area of extension 17, comprising 20 ha, was obtained by the Divisional Council after it was transferred back as part of an exchange of land with the Department of Community Development for the development of rental housing in the extensions 10 to 13. In order to make the area suitable for development, the remnants of an old dune ridge traversing the site had to be removed (Divisional Council of the Cape, 1984, p. 1).

In addition, as it was earmarked for general residential development, the population of the area was estimated at 1,500 persons, distributed with an average density of 22.65 families per ha similar to extensions 10 to 13. Yet, in favour of the upper class residents of the neighbouring elite original Erica township and extension 5, this option was not explored (Divisional Council of the Cape, 1984, p. 2). Hence due to its situation next to the former mentioned affluent ‘spogbuurt’ and its close proximity to UWC, the group that was targeted for this housing scheme was also the upper class Coloured population (Divisional Council of the Cape, 1984, p. 2). Subsequently, the area was developed with 217 single residential plots and in accordance to Erica and extension 5 catered for individual higher income private housing whereby the design of the house was done by the owners themselves. As such, although extension 17 was planned by the Divisional Council of the Cape and was developed as one of the last extensions of Belhar, its design and purpose was more consistent with the planning principles that were laid out in the very first phase of the development of Belhar.

However, as extension 17 is also situated next to the proposed town centre of Belhar, the section bordering extension 8 again became developed as an area of higher density group houses with a number of 97 dwelling units that were to be sold to developers to design (Divisional Council of the Cape, 1984, p. 2). Furthermore, due to the proximity of both the train stations and the proposed town centre two strong pedestrian desire lines were expected across the site. Within that logic, playgrounds were allocated on...
Related to the concept of ‘self-containment’, mentioned in the first part of this chapter, it was planned that every apartheid New Town would have its own town centre or central business district (CBD) (Pentz, 19-09-2012). As such, the Belhar Guideplan of 1972 already noted that Belhar would be developed as a residential township that would be self-sufficient and would have an economic centre of its own.

This centre as such was to be developed in the area bordering both UWC and the wealthy part of Belhar. The motivation for this location was derived from its centrality within the Belhar urban fabric and the expected main movement of pedestrians between the bus and railway station and the residential units east and west of the centre. These main movements were presumed to form a cross along where buildings and facilities would be grouped (Comdev, 1974, p. 2).

The first layout plan for extension 8 was commissioned by the Department of Community Development in 1974 and entailed a rather ambitious scheme. A shopping complex of two to three storey blocks including parking space, several small offices and a department store was planned. Furthermore a complex for municipal uses was to be developed with facilities such as a library, an exhibition space, galleries and even a museum. For the first time in the planning process of the Belhar neighbourhood, the plan also would bring up the possibility of developing recreational facilities encompassing a theatre complex, a park and a cinema site. In support of commercial functions around the station, the bus and railway stations bordering the town centre would furthermore be redeveloped. In addition, together with the creation of a soft garden for waiting travellers, two sites for hotels were appointed in the scheme to accommodate travellers making use of the train stations and to serve as a rendezvous site and a place to take a lunch for students and staff from UWC and the educational facilities located in Belhar. On the long term the possibility of an extension of industrial services was taken into account and therefore several plots were assigned as reserved sites and were supposed to remain vacant at first. As in 1979 nothing of this first plan was realised a second plan was carried out by the Department of Community Development with slight amendments and a larger proportion of vacant land plots. However, as even this second plan was never realised, up until today the area is almost completely vacant.

According to Pentz (19-09-2012) the main reason why none of the plans survived was the bad location of the proposed town centre. In contrast to the arguments made by the planners in the 1970s, Pentz argues that the CBD is planned in the wrong place because there is no through traffic and strategic points along these pedestrian lines. In addition, extension 17 was also supposed to harbour the main sporting facilities of Belhar and included the proposal of a sports complex and tennis court facilities in particular.

EXTENSION 8, THE BELHAR TOWN CENTRE
In a memorandum submitted to the Theron Commission into Coloured Affairs, in the early 1970s by a group of professionals which would later become the key players in the UPRU, including Uytenbogaardt, the following was stated: ‘Its authors are motivated by a desire to apply their combined technical and professional skills to assist in the resolution of serious housing and environmental problems which exist in the Western Cape’ (in Murray, 2011, p. 6). As the memorandum solely suggests a solution to the ‘housing problems’ and does not contain any race-related issues or suggestions that might oppose to the Group Areas Act or critique the apartheid regime, according to Murray (2011, p. 7) it as such clear that ‘the idea of making a contribution rather than a critique is central to the work of the UPRU […] their intentions were liberal ideas, less an oppositional ideological position than the desire to test out spatial models for improved living environments’.

Yet later on in the early 1990s when, as described in the general introduction of this master dissertation, the belief in the apartheid policy changed, it seems that the UPRU also became more critical in its approach. A UPRU-document issued in 1990 which intended to initiate debate about the future of the city indeed dared to refer to the lack of opportunities for the urban poor in the disadvantaged areas whilst admitting that the modernist planning ideals imported from other parts of the world and implemented by the apartheid regime were ‘generated in response to very different contextual realities’ which is why ‘the rhetoric surrounding the idea […] (was) frequently […] hijacked […] (and) the idea itself […] (became) distorted to suit the purposes of racial zoning’ (UPRU, 1990, p. 99).

As Uytenbogaardt was one of the founders of the UPRU, his before mentioned controversial approach in the design of the Belhar neighbourhood can be seen as one of those ‘systematic critiques’. Although the Belhar scheme’s influence along with the general work of the UPRU has been widely hailed as forward thinking, according to Murray (2011, pp. 5 & 6) the ideological positions of research groups such as the UPRU are to some extent unclear.

Furthermore states that a CBD with market driven facilities must be highly accessible to be successful.

Today, commissioned by the Belhar CBD Development Company (Pty) Ltd, under Power of Attorney from the Provincial Government, Calgro M3, one of the largest private developers in South Africa, has laid out a new plan for the Belhar CBD. In the following chapter, the narrative ‘central spot in a web of opportunities’, will further concentrate on this.

UNCLEAR IDEOLOGICAL POSITIONING OF THE UPRU AND UYTENBOGAARDT’S DESIGN

As the first part of this chapter already indicated, starting in the 1960s, a rapid urbanisation process led to an increasing amount of non-White immigrants in the Cape Metropolitan Area and a whole range of urban management problems. A housing shortage and phenomena such as overcrowding and squatting were growing at a staggering rate. Furthermore, by implementing the Group Areas Act and following the racial separation policy of the apartheid regime, serious qualitative inadequacies also earmarked the apartheid New Towns in the periphery.

As a consequence to this, in 1975 a group of people from a variety of disciplines and from both academic and non-academic backgrounds were drawn together by a common concern about the emerging problems in apartheid South African cities (N.N., 1980, p. 67). As according to them there was an urgent need to develop and test new ideas, a series of projects relating to the field of low income housing were drawn up in order to improve the quality of life of people living in the disadvantaged peripheral areas. These projects, which formed the basis of this Urban Problems Research Unit (UPRU) established within the ambit of the Research Administration of UCT, became later described by Harrison, Todes and Watson as ‘systematic critiques’ of the ‘apartheid urban form and the modernist design ideas through which it had been planned’ (in Murray, 2011, pp. 8 & 9).

As Uytenbogaardt was one of the founders of the UPRU, his before mentioned controversial approach in the design of the Belhar neighbourhood can be seen as one of those ‘systematic critiques’. Although the Belhar scheme’s influence along with the general work of the UPRU has been widely hailed as forward thinking, according to Murray (2011, pp. 5 & 6) the ideological positions of research groups such as the UPRU are to some extent unclear.
CONCLUSION

As mentioned in the introduction, in this first chapter we have tried to formulate both the conceived and lived space of the Belhar neighbourhood and the Cape Town apartheid city as a whole. By analysing the historical planning process in which Belhar was conceived, we were able to reconstruct the physical, social and ideological position of the Belhar neighbourhood within the apartheid planning ideologies. Besides our focus on the planning process, we also included the responses of the inhabitants to these plans in order to refine our reconstruction. Recognizing that the main goal of this master dissertation is to formulate ‘new ways of thinking’ about urban planning in the contemporary postapartheid Belhar neighborhood, both the conceived and lived space in a historical context had to be explored.

As we just mentioned, the contemporary Belhar neighbourhood is indeed a postapartheid space where the former apartheid planning ideologies still have an enormous impact both spatially and in the lives of its inhabitants. The next chapter as such further will elaborate on this, analysing the perceived and lived space of the contemporary Belhar neighbourhood.
THE PERCEIVED AND LIVED SPACE OF BELHAR
A contemporary analysis
CHAPTER 2
INTRODUCTION

In contrast with the previous chapter, which highlighted the conceived and lived space during apartheid, this second chapter contains the contemporary analysis of the perceived and lived space of Belhar. It thus describes the spatial, social and socio-economic outcome of apartheid planning and will hence refer to the knowledge gathered in the first chapter. In analysing this in a critical way, we will be able to conclude that post-apartheid is just an illusion while postapartheid is reality and indeed the correct term to use. Against the background of the apartheid planning ideologies, the information within this chapter will consequently enable us to trace down the true power relations behind the production of postapartheid space which will be brought forward in the next chapter (chapter 3). At the end, this knowledge will then be used as a stepping-stone towards our proposed ‘new ways of thinking’ about planning and developing Belhar in future, included in the final chapter of this master dissertation.

The following synthesis of the present perceived and lived space is traced back into nine narratives: ‘1. introvert cell’, ‘2. inferior dormitory neighbourhood’, ‘3. divided neighbourhood’, ‘4. breeding ground for social problems’, ‘5. physical and social immobility’, ‘6. central spot in a web of opportunities’, ‘7. pool of human capital’, ‘8. faith and family’ and ‘cooperative community’. Each of these narratives are based upon own observations and information found in recent planning documents on Belhar as well as on anecdotes and stories told by inhabitants of Belhar. These narratives, as was our intention, will hence contain both the analysis of the perceived and lived space. Gathering these anecdotes and stories, fine-tuning our own perception of the perceived space, we literally ‘walked and talked’ our way through Belhar being introduced by certain gatekeepers as Betty Adams, Willie Desmond Jaffa, Collin Jeffhas and Earl-Ray Smith.

This process, this snowball-effect of constantly meeting different inhabitants, who in their own way all brought up new facts and figures, was crucial in getting familiar with the Belhar neighbourhood. Hence, as reader it is who in their own way all brought up new facts and figures, was crucial. This process, this snowball-effect of constantly meeting different inhabitants, will hence contain both the analysis of the perceived and lived space. Gathering these anecdotes and stories, fine-tuning our own perception of the perceived space, we literally ‘walked and talked’ our way through Belhar being introduced by certain gatekeepers as Betty Adams, Willie Desmond Jaffa, Collin Jeffhas and Earl-Ray Smith.


2. Local resident of the flats on Chestnut Way (extension 4) and (emergency) foster parent playing an important role in the social network of Belhar.

3. Ward councillor (DA) of subcouncil 6 Belhar extension 8 (north of Erica Drive and East of Symphony Way), 9 (South of Algoa Avenue and Molteno Road east of De Waal Way and Elishburg Avenue, north of Alabama Avenue and west of Holtmeyr Road), 10 to 13, 14 (South of Alabama Avenue and Molteno Road, north of Drsosky Road and West of Arene Avenue), 15, 16 and 18 to 23.

4. Civil servant of the existing housing department in Belhar.

5. A 30-year old UWC student, who spent most of his youth living in Belhar and at the time of research again resided there.

6. The waste disposal site is approximately 75ha and it is expected to reach capacity by mid-2014. Hereafter the disposal site is to be left vacant for at least 5 to 10 years which makes development on or in close proximity to this site impossible in the near future (City of Cape Town, 2011, p.31).

EXTERNAL BOUNDARIES

The design of the Cape Flats, in accordance with the Group Areas Act, enhanced the isolation of different racial groups by means of big buffer zones. As mentioned in the first chapter of this master dissertation, the Coloured group area containing Belhar as such became separated from the White group area of Bellville by the Bellville South industrial precinct, the Transnet area and Voortrekker Road whilst in the south the D.F. Malan Cape Town International Airport buffered the area from the Black group area around Nyanga.

In addition, even within one group area neighbourhoods were also established as individual residential pockets. This is likewise the case for Belhar as it is cut off from the surrounding Coloured residential areas and is bounded by large road barriers. In addition to this, the Sarepta railway line in the north furthermore forms a major barrier between the residential area of Belhar and the campus of UWC and CPUT.
An incomplete road circulation furthermore emphasizes the introvert character of Belhar as fundamental missing links disconnect the area from its environs. Hence, as an example, as long as Erica Drive is not extended to the east, students who live in Kuilsrivier traveling to UWC or CPUT have to take a considerable detour in order to reach campus. The missing link northwards of Belhar Drive furthermore prevents vehicle access to the Pentech station thus disconnecting Belhar from the Sacks Circle precinct and Bellville South industrial precinct.

**INTERNAL BOUNDARIES**

Whilst Belhar as a whole is isolated from its direct surroundings, the internal patchwork of the urban fabric of Belhar became simultaneously separated by internal boundaries of which most were carried out as Belhar’s higher order roads. These ‘space bridgers’ rather than ‘space integrators’, including Erica Drive and Symphony Way, indeed divide Belhar in a northern and southern part and furthermore cause an east-west division. The features of these roads, being up to 40m in width along Erica Drive, furthermore contribute to their characteristics as buffers hence they rather serve to divide instead of unite the community. In addition, the strip of vacant land along Erica Drive accentuates the width of the road, makes it even less attractive to cross.

The dune area stretching north-south, containing Erica Park Stadium, the Symphony Way Sports Fields and the rugby fields of Belhar, also divides Belhar in an eastern and western part and moreover causes visual constraints. Furthermore, instead of functioning as a natural border of greenery in the area, due to its hidden character and its shielding effect there are also a number of problems that can be related to this dune complex. All of these will be explained in the narrative ‘A breeding for social problems and crime’.

Similarly, the closed cement railway line running through extension 23, 14 and 13 functions as an internal boundary within the eastern part of Belhar. Varying between 10 to 60m in width, the unused railway runs right through the housing fabric, creating desired pedestrian walk lines but lacking the openness which is required in order to guarantee a safe walkway. Along the railway line, several portions of the adjoining housing fabric are positioned with their backside towards the empty strip of land which contributes to the isolated effect of the cement line.

Also the design of the internal road network of access collectors, access loops and access ways or cul-de-sacs, based upon the Blue Book standards and the Neighbourhood Unit concept mentioned in the first chapter of this master dissertation, plays a key role in the creation of insular cells within the urban fabric of Belhar. As the implemented road hierarchy and road structure enhances the creation of backyard oriented residential plots along major roads such as Erica Drive or Symphony Way it likewise determines the inwardly focused units. Furthermore since this road structure only includes a limited amount of entry and exit points it as such also reinforces the introvert character of the area prohibiting through traffic and demarcating dead end streets. The UPRU therefore concluded that these convoluted street patterns designed to achieve a sense of diversity did not result in ‘complex’ environments but rather in ‘complicated’ ones which make it difficult for a stranger to find his or her way around as the structure of the patchwork is not readable or predictable (UPRU, 1990, p. 179).
the model of the Neighbourhood Unit in apartheid Cape Town, and as such also in Belhar, rather became a suitable model to disseminate the urban fabric into smaller subareas and implement the racial ideology of separation than to insulate the population from the ill-effects of a growing sea of vehicular traffic for which it was intended (Patricios, 2002, p. 2).

In consequence, since the use of the apartheid territory is completely anchored in its design, one can argue that apartheid not only left an introvert urban fabric in which the ‘panopticon idea’, was realised, but that it also did not leave any room for change. This lack of resilience, as was pointed out by spatial planners Davidson and Pentz (04-10-2012; 19-09-2012), gave limited possibilities for future amendments and enclosed the complete neighbourhood. The words of Davidson concerning the design of Belhar further illustrates this: ‘This design contrasts with some of the earlier designs, for example the Goodwood grid’ which remains open for future possibilities and leaves more place for development […] They should have put a simple grid across it, legible and understandable and it’s flexible completely over time. And when you are dealing with urban environments in transition, you got to look at those clear legible structures which can be put in and give directions to growth and whatever happens in the future you cannot plan for. But as soon as you start articulating it like the Blue Book you constrain it to any flexibility of growth and change in the future’.

NO ROOM FOR CHANGE

This implementation of the external and internal boundaries, which can be traced back to the Group Areas Act, Neighbourhood Unit concept as well as the Blue Book standards, as such resulted in a discontinuous urban patchwork which lacks any form of cohesion as it contains several residential cells that are not structurally related to each other. From a town planning perspective this design is hence not resilient at all as its physical and psychological subdivision prevents the area to establish itself as one integrated urban network (UPRU, 1990, p. XI). One can thus conclude that the model of the Neighbourhood Unit in apartheid Cape Town, and as such also in Belhar, rather became a suitable model to disseminate the urban fabric into smaller subareas and implement the racial ideology of separation than to insulate the population from the ill-effects of a growing sea of vehicular traffic for which it was intended (Patricios, 2002, p. 2).

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7. Residential area located 10km from the city centre of Cape Town.
2. INFERIOR DORMITORY NEIGHBOURHOOD

In 1990, evaluating the implementation of the overseas planning models described in the first chapter of this master dissertation, the UPRU mentioned the following: ‘The planning of these developments closely followed Howard’s Garden City model: residential densities were low, they were separated from surrounding urban development by buffers of wide roads or belts of open space, they were generally located beyond the existing bounds of the city and were focused inwards onto local community and commercial facilities. However, many of the ideas and intentions contained in his original formulation vanished. These areas contained no industrial development and only limited provision for commercial development. They could thus never become the self-contained ‘towns’ envisaged by Howard, and residents had to continue to travel to work and shop in the already established areas of Cape Towns’ (UPRU, 1990, p. 45). Hence, instead of evolving towards well-established self-contained New Towns, the deliberate wrong implementation of these models led to a new form of urban development which became known as ‘suburbs’ (UPRU, 1990, p. 39, 45). Herein the ideas behind Howard’s vision were simplified to little more than a housing programme.

Accordingly, in 2001 Turok dared to state that all low income peripheral apartheid neighbourhoods were ‘built as dormitory suburbs with fairly rudimentary rental housing, infrastructure and facilities’ (Turok, 2001, p. 235). Subsequently, it was hence no surprise finding the following sentences popping up in the first paragraph of the Belhar Local Structure Plan of 1991: ‘Belhar is one of the many ‘dormitory’ suburbs of Cape Town. The form of development is predominantly residential with related community facilities. There is very little commercial or industrial infrastructure and the area lacks a definable centre’ (Urban Design Services, 1992, summary). On top of that, what is perhaps even more noteworthy is that, anno 2012, we furthermore dare to state that Belhar even shifted towards an ‘inferior’ dormitory neighbourhood. As will be discussed further on, our own research illustrates that the planned amenities are to a large extent not established whilst also buildings are empty, sites are underutilised and present amenities often lack capacity.

LITTLE INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY

Due to the wrong implementation of overseas planning models such as for example the Garden City model and New Town programme, as discussed in the introduction of this narrative little industrial activity is provided within the area of Belhar itself. The only small initiative that is being carried out within Belhar is the industrial park on Huguenot Square which is operating in the form of a small concentration of primarily waste collecting activities that are being used for recycling purposes. Complementary to this, a system has been set up where people drive through the streets with horse and cart in order to collect recyclable materials. There have been several programs to stimulate these kinds of initiatives and to regulate and formalise the recycling business. Hence, these carts were provided with a license plate and people can take their horse to a veterinarian who will provide them with care and medication (Smith, 01-09-2012).

MIDDLE COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY

Similar as to the previous paragraphs, it here has to be mentioned that due to the wrong implementation of the overseas planning models, also little commercial activity was planned in the Belhar neighbourhood. As it later turned out that of the few planned commercial nodes most of them were economically not viable due to their wrong location in the urban fabric, it is as such not surprising that Belhar residents today experience difficulties doing their daily groceries within close proximity of their home. It furthermore also needs to be remarked that because of the lack of local shop facilities, Belhar people often have to travel to Voortrekker Road or even to the Tygerberg Shopping Centre to find more specific consumer goods such as clothing or electrical devices. This hence takes up a significant amount of money and is again also very time-consuming (Adams, 28-09-2012).

The fact that there is no definable centre in Belhar is one of the main reasons why the area is lacking a clear commercial node. Since the origin of Belhar there have been several attempts to create a town centre or small
CBD upon the area of extension 8. Yet, up until today none of these plans have been realised as the area lacks the necessary threshold of through traffic, which was already explained in the first chapter of this master dissertation. In analogy to the location of the Belhar CBD on extension 8, the underdevelopment of the Pentech station commercial node is being fed by the same lack of correlation with through-traffic as it is only approachable by car via extension 23.

Nevertheless, although they were not implemented in the original plans, Belhar today does contain two main shopping facilities. Both are located alongside a main road serving two residential areas and are hence economically viable. The first commercial node, located at Modderdam station is being fed by the through-traffic of Modderdam Road and serves both Uitsig and the western part of Belhar. The second commercial node, located on the Stellenbosch Arterial serves both Delft and the eastern part of Belhar. This shopping centre, the Airport Shopping Mall was in addition developed regarding the possible future extension of the Airport precinct.

Although these shopping centres bear a number of stores it is not evident that they are being used by local residents since they are to a large extend only accessible by car. That is hence why Belhar residents today still do most of their groceries in the small scale, local supermarkets spread over the whole Belhar area or situated on the intersection of Belhar Drive, Arundel Street and Alabama Drive. As this latter mentioned commercial node indeed attracts a lot of local consumers, ward councillor Jaftha hence expressed his ambition to build another section for businesses around the already existing commercial nodes. Yet in 1990 the UPRU already mentioned that the space standards laid down were such as that it was impossible to build housing with sufficiently high densities to use the land efficiently (UPRU, 1990, p. 125). For example when a 100ha site is developed at a density of 20 dwelling units per ha, according to the space standards 60ha would then be absorbed for circulation and facility space. Likewise when developing at a gross density of 40 dwellings units per ha only 8.5ha would be left for residential development. Hence, given the rather generous space standards, today large tracts of undeveloped land lie empty. After all as is explained by Boyd (07-09-2012), town planner at the City of Cape Town, ‘density drives provision’: in order to develop commercial activities of amenities, a certain threshold in terms of population size and density must be complied. As this low threshold in the case of Belhar later was combined with a diminishing amount of funds, it is as such no surprise to find a high amount of vacant land and a shortage of important community facilities such as recreational facilities, civic halls, elderly homes, crèches and well-established open space.

This shortage and mismatch between the planned and the actual number of amenities has been a great subject of concern throughout the whole development of Belhar.

As mentioned earlier, in planning the apartheid New Towns the ‘Western Cape Regional Services Council Standards’ were set out which, based upon the forecasts of the number of inhabitants, defined the amount of land to be reserved for facilities. Yet in 1990 the UPRU already mentioned that the space standards laid down were such as that it was impossible to build housing with sufficiently high densities to use the land efficiently (UPRU, 1990, p. 125). For example when a 100ha site is developed at a density of 20 dwelling units per ha, according to the space standards 60ha would then be absorbed for circulation and facility space. Likewise when developing at a gross density of 40 dwellings units per ha only 8.5ha would be left for residential development. Hence, given the rather generous space standards, today large tracts of undeveloped land lie empty. After all as is explained by Boyd (07-09-2012), town planner at the City of Cape Town, ‘density drives provision’: in order to develop commercial activities of amenities, a certain threshold in terms of population size and density must be complied. As this low threshold in the case of Belhar later was combined with a diminishing amount of funds, it is as such no surprise to find a high amount of vacant land and a shortage of important community facilities such as recreational facilities, civic halls, elderly homes, crèches and well-established open space.

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Yet today Belhar residents do not wait for these new developments and take matters into their own hands. Throughout the whole area of Belhar there are numerous house shops and tuck shops to be found and in addition, informal trade along Stellenbosch Arterial is present. Nevertheless, these home-based businesses are often conflicting with residential properties and have limited growth potential. Furthermore, many areas that have been provided for informal trading are left unmanaged and unmaintained which is also the case on various intersections on Belhar Drive where individual hawkers are operating in an unmanaged space (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 16). Today this highly inefficient usage of land resources also has a negative impact on the urban fabric of Belhar as it is being fragmented by many parcels of vacant and unmaintained land. In one of the following narratives ‘breeding ground for social problems and crime’, the effects of the physical
condition of these vacant plots, which are lacking landscaping and social control, will be discussed more thoroughly.

UNDERUTILISED SITES

Besides the non-development of a large number of plots there are also numerous plots, mostly school sites, which are only partially developed or used. The explanation therefore can again be found in the generous space standards applied, as discussed in the previous section. For an estimated population of 3,300 inhabitants, the Western Cape Regional Services Council Standards envisaged for example 5 primary schools to which an area of 2.5ha each was allocated. Besides the overprovision of space for a single school site, also financial constraints influenced the underutilisation of sites as in the early 1990s the decision was made that schools in the Cape should be self-financing in terms of maintenance costs. As this was ‘a milestone around the necks of these institutions’, the massive amount of space allocated to the single school plots became a financial burden which today leads to fairly open school sites with poorly maintained and underutilised sports fields and playgrounds (UPRU, 1990, p. 126).

Underutilised school sites

Walter Engel, an inhabitant of the original Erica township, spent his whole carrier as teacher and principal in the Belhar and Delft area. Recognising the financial burden in maintaining the large school plots, Walter suggested a better cooperation between the existing schools of Belhar enhancing the sharing of tools and resources. According to Walter schools might for example share the costs of a commonly owned lawnmower since the individual schools would only need it a couple of times a year. Above all, Walter furthermore points out that it is not necessarily the task of the government to start off this kind of initiatives but stresses that it should also be the community who should organise itself when the government is not able or willing to do so (Engel, 01-09-2012).

EMPTY BUILDINGS

Other elements of the inferior dormitory character of Belhar are a certain number of deserted and dilapidated empty buildings.

The first and most striking example is the empty commercial complex on Chestnut Way which is completely abandoned and covered with graffiti marks. As this complex used to be controlled by the Sexy Boys Belhar street gang, it was shut down in 2010 after a request made by residents and local politicians (Jaftha W.D., 12-09-2012).

Among other underutilised buildings there is the former BIFSA-complex (Building Industry South Africa) along Symphony Way which now stands out as a landmark of ruins. The only elements still present are the outside walls and roof. The complex has been deserted for at least 10 years and was gradually dismantled by residents of Belhar (Walter, 01-09-2012).

One of the more recently developed buildings is the intended youth centre in extension 16, which has been in the process of development for the past years but so far has not reached completion (Jaftha W.D., 12-09-2012). At the moment it remains an empty building waiting to fulfil a purpose.

Yet another element which catches the eye in the Belhar area, are the remains of a bus station on the large tract of vacant land in extension 8. Shut down in 1994 the station once functioned as a well-working transfer node for school-going children (Smith, 01-09-2012). These ruins now stand out as reminders of the apartheid state.

AMENITIES LACK CAPACITY

As mentioned in the previous paragraphs, the failure to develop a large number of the planned amenities has caused Belhar to become an inferior dormitory place. In accordance, the few amenities which are established often lack the capacity to serve the whole Belhar population. In the following paragraphs this will be further discussed in detail for the present school facilities, health services, recreational and community facilities, civil services, industrial and commercial activity and religious undertakings. As, in contrast to the other amenities, churches will though seem to be abundantly present, at the end of this narrative we will as such be able to state that today Belhar can be described as an ’inferior dormitory neighbourhood were people only eat, sleep and pray’.

School facilities

On a population of more than 50,000 people, besides Northlink College and the Oasis Special School, only 11 primary schools and 5 secondary schools are provided. Considering the young population of Belhar, with a percentage of 35 under 18, this seems to be an insufficient number of school facilities for such a large population (Statistics South Africa, census data 2001).
Besides a few private doctors, which the majority of the Belhar population cannot afford since they having no health insurance, the Belhar area only contains three state health facilities: a small maternity centre on Chestnut Way together with a medical centre and the St. Vincent day-clinic both on Belhar Drive. As the St. Vincent clinic includes the only state doctor in Belhar, patients here start lining up at 3 a.m. in the morning in order to get a chance to consult the doctor. Furthermore since the Belhar area does not contain a 24 hour clinic, people in need of hospitalisation are obliged to leave Belhar and attend the Delft or Tygerberg hospital. Hence, as there are several health related problems in Belhar, such as for example a high level of tuberculosis and a high level of teenage pregnancies, the demand exceeds the supply by far. Furthermore, due to a lack of nursing homes, needy elderly also attend the state facilities on a daily basis. It is as such no surprise to find all three state health facilities operating at full capacity (Jaftha W.D., 12-09-2012). Above all, as HIV-aids is both a taboo and a huge problem in the Belhar area, due to the lack of capacity related to health facilities, there are unfortunately also no possibilities whatsoever to start a firm and solid awareness campaign (Adams, 28-09-2012).

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In general, sport plays an important role in the improvement of living conditions. It provides people with a place to meet, to develop skills and can contribute to a change of attitude, especially amongst children. The need for sport facilities in Belhar, and in particular a swimming pool, is recognised by the government and recommendations to construct a swimming pool in Belhar are reflected in the Tygerberg District Plan (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 93).

Community facilities

The under provision of community halls furthermore enhances the inferior dormitory connotation which is given to the Belhar area. As these halls provide the population with a platform to meet, to organise themselves and carry out joint activities, the shortage of such places thus has a negative impact on the social cohesion of the Belhar inhabitants.

Since the local government is also aware of this problem, it decided in 2008 to upgrade the aforementioned awarded Belhar Community Hall designed by Uytenbogaardt and Rozendal. Furthermore, during the time of our research the local government also almost finished constructing a new youth centre on Huguenot Square which will have a variety of social programs with amongst other things also information sessions on topics related to education and family planning, as was explained by local ward councillor Jaftha.

Civil services

Some of the community facilities in Belhar are being provided by the government: a fire station in extension 13, a police station in extension 20, a library in extension 5 as well as a library, the office of the Existing Housing Department and the civic office of ward councillor Jaftha on Huguenot Square in extension 16. Within this latter mentioned civic office councillor Jaftha has his office hours and also community meetings are being held. Albeit, these facilities are few in number and generally not able to deal with the demand due to a lack of capacity.

Recreational facilities

Apart from the few health facilities, there is also little provision made for recreational facilities. As a result, especially youths often have to turn to alternative ways to occupy themselves but as they have no specific place to turn to, they often end up hanging on the streets.

The only elements that offer the Belhar residents some kind of leisure are a number of sport facilities: the Belhar Indoor Sport Complex in extension 8, Erica Park Stadium on Erica Drive and the Symphony Way Sports Fields. Where the first harbours the Belhar Chess Club and has facilities for wheelchair rugby, basketball, badminton, volleyball and other things, the two latter are mostly used for soccer (City of Cape Town, 2012). Another rather notorious sports club in Belhar, situated in between Erica Park Stadium and the Symphony Way Sports Fields, is the Belhar Rugby Club which plays on a medium high level. This rugby club is said to be owned and financed by gang money and therefore has a rather negative impact on young players' mentality and future (Jaftha W.D., 12-09-2012).
The station for example has only one cell for emergencies whilst there are more than 600 arrests per month (SAPS community meeting, 19-09-2012). As such in weekends, when tensions are often high in Belhar, offenders are frequently transferred to the Delft police station as the Belhar cell does not offer enough capacity (SAPS community meeting, 19-09-2012). One of the officers at the police meeting on September 19th of 2012 explained to the residents of Belhar: ‘We need to take people from the streets at night but sometimes the stations are just full’ (SAPS community meeting, 19-09-2012). As the station only has one emergency cell in accordance also no holding cells are provided. At the moment only Bellville South and Ravensmead facilitate these.

**Places of worship**

Although a large proportion of the planned community facilities in Belhar never made it into realisation, the same cannot be said for the religious undertakings which were often developed with private funds. Hence, like in the whole of South Africa, where religion is well-rooted in society, religion also plays an important role in the lives of the people in Belhar. As such the Census data of 2001 also illustrate that the Belhar population all together have more or less 17 different types of religion. As the most prominent of them are the Dutch Reformed, the Catholic, the Methodist, the Anglican, the Pentecostal and the Apostolic Church, the majority of the Belhar people adhere to the Christian faith. Though, as also a considering amount of the Belhar population is Muslim, besides the 34 churches also two mosques were established in the Belhar neighbourhood. In one of the following narratives, ‘faith and family’, the importance of religion and family structures will be further discussed.
3. DIVIDED NEIGHBOURHOOD

In respect of the Group Areas Act and the large-scale housing programme associated with it, the reasons for establishing Belhar changed over time. It started as a project for both the people connected to the Coloured Representatives Council and staff members of UWC and evolved over time into a receiving neighbourhood for relocated Coloured people out of the slums of the inner-city of Cape Town. Accordingly, as set out in detail in the first chapter, whilst changing the intentions behind the planning of Belhar, the spatial planners, developers and housing typologies also changed. Belhar as such became the result of its historical pattern of development rather than a reflection of its functional relationships in the metropolitan context (Urban Design Services, 1992, summary). Since it developed itself in a west-east direction it turned out to be a west-east ‘divided’ neighbourhood which already became clear during apartheid.

Although both the wealthy Coloureds and the lower class relocated people all became ‘true’ citizens of Belhar, 50 years after the first house was ever built in Belhar the contrast between the Coloured professional in ‘Old Belhar’ and the unemployed and uneducated relocated person in ‘New Belhar’ remains. A quote out of a newspaper article of August 9th of 2004 in the Cape Argus strikingly summarises this: ‘Belhar is divided along class lines; one half is home to an affluent quiet community of professionals, while the other is battling drugs and gangsterism …’ (It) may have one name, but it is home to two different communities’. Knowing that inhabitants of the other part of Belhar often refer to the poorer areas of extensions 9 to 16 as ‘the other side of the world’, it is hence also not surprising that it is home to two different communities.’ Knowing that inhabitants of the more affluent parts of Belhar refer to the poorer areas of extensions 9 to 16 as ‘the other side of the world’, it is hence also not surprising that the title of the before mentioned article quotes these ‘two different worlds’.

Yet in effect, in ‘the other side of the world’ the nickname ‘spogbuurt’11 which originated from the 1970s is also still in use.

This division is furthermore also emphasised in the political organisation of the area since Belhar is divided into two wards, one in the east and one in the west. The better-off western part of Belhar12 together with Uitsig, Ravensmead, Parow Industria and Modderdam are part of the 22nd ward of which Mrs. Johanna Martlow (DA) is the councillor13 while the eastern poorer part of Belhar14 makes up the 12th ward led by councillor Willie Desmond Jaftha (DA).

In addition, the distinction between Old Belhar in the west and New Belhar in the east is also found in the contrasting housing typologies and densities, socio-economic- and housing conditions, street images and appearance of public spaces which all will be reviewed in this narrative. In analysing these factors it becomes clear that there is a large contrast between Old and New Belhar, however this distinction will be found too little refined. In consequence, in the conclusion of this narrative the mental boundaries between the ‘two different worlds’ as mentioned in this introduction, will be redefined.

It also has to be noticed that the social environment will differ throughout Belhar. Due to its specific characteristics, this will be discussed in the next narrative, ‘breeding ground for social problems and crime’.

HOUSING TYPOLOGIES AND SEVEN RESIDENTIAL COMPLEXES, A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

Given the fact that the ‘divided’ Belhar, as mentioned in the introduction of this narrative, is the result of its historical pattern of development, all of the current contrasting factors will be reviewed, using seven residential complexes as a framework. Since this pattern most of all became clear when examining the housing typologies that were planned during apartheid, this framework will hence be introduced by focusing upon the contrasts within the Belhar housing typologies. It is visible that, when walking ‘through time’ from west to east, this framework is demarcated by seven residential complexes evolving from luxurious housing to poor housing, and could be read as a summary of the present-day results of the planning practices that were discussed in the first chapter.

> Extract from Caught in violent crossfire between two different worlds, 04-08-2008, Cape Argus
Complex 1: Erica, extension 5, extension 6 with regard to the Parliamentarians and extension 17

Starting in the north-west of Belhar, the first established areas of the neighbourhood that were developed for the high income professional Coloureds employed at UWC, can be found. Here in Erica, extension 5 and 17 houses were built by individual owners and were not part of the large scale housing programmes of the apartheid regime. Consequently, these neighbourhoods show a cacophony of architectural styles in the most luxurious upper class houses of Belhar. Each house has its own driveway and at least one, but often two garages. Aerial photographs also reveal the large number of swimming pools in the backyards. Furthermore, just south of extension 17, the luxurious gated community of the former Coloured Representatives was established, comprising of 65 houses, a swimming pool and tennis courts that are fenced off and partially closed off with a wall. Although the Coloured Representatives Council dissolved after apartheid, the small gated community is still used by Parliament members.

CHAPTER 2 | THE PERCEIVED AND LIVED SPACE OF BELHAR | A CONTEMPORARY ANALYSIS

3. DIVIDED NEIGHBOURHOOD

Housing typologies and seven residential complexes, a framework for analysis

Complex 1: Erica, extension 5, extension 6 with regard to the Parliamentarians and extension 17
Complex 2: Belhar I conventional
Complex 3: Group housing ext. 1, group housing ext. 7
Complex 4: Flats on Chestnut Way
Complex 5: Maisonette ext. 10 to 13, row housing ext. 15 to 16
Complex 6: Group housing ext. 9
Complex 7: Self-help ext. 18 to 23

15. Located in the west of Belhar, next to Erica, ext. 17 is one of the last established extensions. Hence, when referring to the historical development of Belhar from west to east, ext. 17 is an exception. Above all, due to its location next to Erica and UWC it is built for the wealthy Coloured and as such also does not follow the intention behind the historical pattern. Because of this, ext. 17 will be seen as part of the initial development of Belhar, though in time it is not.
Complex 5: extensions 10 to 13 and 15 to 16

Moving on to the eastern part of Belhar, the areas for relocated Coloured families from the inner-city slums can be found. Recognising that the Capetonian authorities were unable to keep up with the housing demand, in 1979 the progressive masterplan for the Belhar II and IIIa project of Uytenbogaardt was rejected. Apart from extension 9, (the sixth residential complex), Uytenbogaardt’s design was replaced by a large-scale housing operation carried out by the apartheid authorities. Accordingly, in building subsidised houses for the lower class in extension 10 to 13 and 15 to 16, the scheme corresponded with low-quality, basic housing provision.

Complex 6: extension 9

As pointed out before, extension 9 is the only realised part of Uytenbogaardt’s progressive Belhar II and IIIa project. Here the original design of Uytenbogaardt was used which, with regard to housing typologies, resulted in terraced houses situated around collective places. In addition, the ‘stoep’ was included in the design, which formed the connection between the dwelling and the street. Although these houses are not larger than those in the fifth residential complex, due to their interaction with the public environment, the housing typologies appear to be of a higher quality.

Complex 7: extensions 18 to 23 and 14

Completely in the east of Belhar, confronted with diminishing funds, the apartheid authorities changed their approach with regard to the provision of subsidised housing. Consequently, extensions 18 to 23 and 14 became self-help projects where construction needed to be done by the individual owners, whereas materials, technical assistance and plans were delivered by the government. Furthermore, the authorities hoped to encourage home-ownership for low income families and to enhance less dependent attitudes towards the government. In contrast to the subsidised houses, people could extend and improve their houses according to their own preferences and financial means. The housing typologies in these extensions therefore range from a basic single-storey house to double-storey houses with a garage or veranda and decorated façades.

16. Similar to footnote 15, as ext. 17 does not follow the historical pattern of development its group housing project is also not part of the Belhar I project. Yet, since it does follow the same principles as the group housing projects of the Belhar I project, it will be seen as part of the second residential complex.

17. Ext. 14, in contrast with ext. 18 to 23, is not situated in the complete east of Belhar. In time though, it is constructed together with the before mentioned extensions. Since it also is developed as self-help project, it is hence seen as part of the same residential complex.
When analysing the map showing the plot sizes of the residential units in Belhar, this evolution can thus be traced down. Indeed, the individually built houses of the first residential complex in Erica, extension 5 and 17 are developed on the largest plots (400 and 700 m² or more.) The same can be found for the second residential complex, where the conventional houses of the Belhar I project were developed. Again, with regard to the third residential complex, the group housing projects of the Belhar I project, the fifth complex of the large-scale housing programme in extension 10 to 13 and 15 to 16 and the sixth complex in extension 9, plot sizes have decreased to less than 300 m². However, in analogy to the housing typologies of the seventh complex, the self-help projects, are of a slightly higher standard than houses in extension 9 to 13 and 15 to 16 and accordingly, the plot sizes are also higher as they range between 300 and 400 m². Nevertheless, in the last established extension 23, the plot sizes within this self-help scheme have again dropped to less than 300 m².

CENSUS-DATA AND THE FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

Further in this narrative South African Census-data will be implemented. When topics were available the latest data of 2011 were preferred to those of 2001. Nevertheless, also 2001-data is applied. In believing it can contribute to addressing certain statements, both data sets will sometimes be linked even though it is statistically not correct since there is a 10 year timespan in between. Consequently, when this method is applied, this will be indicated which should enable the reader to handle the comparisons with care.

Furthermore, linking the before mentioned framework with the Census-data, following remarks should be borne in mind. Since the Census-data is collected on the extension-level, within the first complex the gated community of extension 6 is left out covering only a part of extension 6. Also extension 17 will be left out as the geographical definition of this extension used in the Census does not correspond with the actual geographical definition. Above all, the Census-data does not make a difference between Erica and extension 5 as the data related to Erica also contains the data of extension 5. As such, in analysing the first complex, the average data of Erica and extension 5 will be used and found representative. Referring to the second complex, data of extensions 2 and 4 having no group housing projects in contrast with extension 1, 3, 6 and 7, will be found representative for the whole complex. The third and fourth complex will always be left out as both cover only a part of one or more extensions whereby as such specific Census-data cannot be traced down. In dealing with extension 9, the sixth complex, no correct data can be found in the Census since again the geographical definition is not correct. Yet, when it does not concern the housing typology, extension 9 does not differ from the fifth complex. Hence, the data for the fifth complex will be found representative for the sixth. Referring to the seventh complex, data of extension 18 to 21 and 23 will be used, or an average of those, since the Census 2011-data does not contain information on extension 22.

RESIDENTIAL AND POPULATION DENSITY

As is mentioned in the Belhar Local Structure Plan of 1991, the initial development was carried out as low density housing of less than 10 dwelling units per ha while later developments included medium (10 to 15 dwelling units per ha) and high (10 to 25 dwelling units per ha) densities (Urban Design Services, 1992, p. 13). When walking ‘through time’ in Belhar, in correspondence with the seven residential complexes, plot sizes indeed decline and hence residential densities increase.

When analysing the map showing the plot sizes of the residential units in Belhar, this evolution can thus be traced down. Indeed, the individually built houses of the first residential complex in Erica, extension 5 and 17 are developed on the largest plots (400 and 700 m² or more.) The same can be found for the second residential complex, where the conventional houses of the Belhar I project were developed. Again, with regard to the third residential complex, the group housing projects of the Belhar I project, the fifth complex of the large-scale housing programme in extension 10 to 13 and 15 to 16 and the sixth complex in extension 9, plot sizes have decreased to less than 300 m². However, in analogy to the housing typologies of the seventh complex, the self-help projects, are of a slightly higher standard than houses in extension 9 to 13 and 15 to 16 and accordingly, the plot sizes are also higher as they range between 300 and 400 m². Nevertheless, in the last established extension 23, the plot sizes within this self-help scheme have again dropped to less than 300 m².
Furthermore, by analysing the Census 2001-data, the population per dwelling increases from west to east hence following the same pattern as the residential densities. For example in Erica and extension 5 of the first residential complex only 2% of the households include eight or more people. In extension 2 and 4, representative for the second complex, this number increases to 9% while the average number of household members of extension 10 to 13 and 15 to 16, representative for the fifth and sixth complex, increases to 21%. On top of that, the Tygerberg District Plan of 2011 mentions that extension 13 has become a concentration point for backyard settlements (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 29). Driving through Belhar, such backyard settlements were also found in extension 10. These numbers, hence explain the crowded living conditions in the fifth and sixth residential complex caused by the increasing number of people per household, increasing numbers of backyard dwellings and decreasing plot sizes.

In the self-help area of the seventh residential complex the percentage of households with eight or more people again drops to 5%. Though combined with the higher residential densities, population density in these areas will be much higher than in Erica, extension 5 and 17 and the Belhar I project. Furthermore, as Steenkamp (03-10-2012) mentions, in these self-help areas also a lot of UWC students reside in backyard dwellings which again raises the number of people living on one plot.

**Group housing and flats in extension 3**

With regard to the third and fourth complex no Census-data was available. Nevertheless, when visiting two houses, one in each complex, crowded living conditions comparable to the fifth and sixth complex were found.

In one of the homes in the group housing project of extension 3, part of the third residential complex, seven people were living in an x3b-type of house, corresponding with a three bedroom dwelling with a total area of only 67.2 m². Six out of the seven persons were furthermore above 16 years old as the household contained the woman herself, her three grown-up sons, her daughter and fiancé, one grandchild and another on the way. Above all, a few months before visiting them, her son's two children and girlfriend also stayed with them. Though, due to the tensions in the house, the girlfriend and her two children moved back to her parents. However, since they come over in weekends, this raises the number of people living in one house during the weekends to nine.

In visiting a two bedroom apartment in the flats on Chestnut Way similar conditions were found as the apartment was shared by a family of four and one needy elderly friend of the family. As such, the old man stayed in one of the two bedrooms, leaving the other bedroom for the four-headed family: man, woman, their 18-year old daughter and 16-year old son.

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, HOUSING CONDITIONS, STREET IMAGES AND PUBLIC SPACE**

Similar to the geographical distribution in housing typologies and densities, contrasting socio-economic standards can be found. When analysing this distribution, the level of education (2001-data) will be compared with employment rate (2011-data) and monthly income (2011-data). With regard to this it has to be mentioned that the data of the level of education should be read as 'the highest level of education of inhabitants above 20 years' while the employment rate and income always concerns the population group between 15 and 65 years old. Though there is a difference in data in both the year of collection and age-group, it stills provides the necessary information to acknowledge the general geographical difference in Belhar.

**EXTENSION** | % of households with 8 persons or more
--- | ---
Erica + extension 5 | 2
Erica 1 | 9
Erica 4 | 9
Erica 15 | 5
Extension 10 | 12
Extension 11 | 26
Extension 12 | 19
Extension 13 | 15
Extension 15 | 17
Extension 16 | 15
average 10-11 and 13-19 | 21
Erica 18 | 5
Erica 19 | 5
Erica 20 | 5
Erica 21 | 6
Erica 23 | 5
average 10-11 and 13-19 | 5

Data adapted from Statistics South Africa, 2001

**EXTENSION** | % of highest level of education (%) years
--- | ---
Erica + extension 5 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 20 | 23 | 43
Erica 2 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 42 | 39 | 10 | 49
Erica 4 | 1 | 7 | 6 | 44 | 34 | 9 | 43
average 2 and 4 | 36 | 9 | 46
Erica 10 | 32 | 24 | 11 | 25 | 9 | 0 | 9
Erica 11 | 6 | 35 | 11 | 37 | 9 | 0 | 9
Erica 12 | 5 | 28 | 14 | 37 | 13 | 3 | 15
Erica 13 | 3 | 35 | 18 | 31 | 12 | 0 | 13
Erica 15 | 4 | 23 | 12 | 43 | 9 | 9 | 18
Erica 16 | 5 | 19 | 13 | 49 | 14 | 1 | 15
average 10 and 11 | 11 | 2 | 14
Erica 18 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 57 | 24 | 1 | 25
Erica 19 | 9 | 10 | 57 | 22 | 1 | 23
Erica 20 | 2 | 14 | 10 | 49 | 21 | 5 | 26
Erica 21 | 1 | 9 | 9 | 56 | 23 | 1 | 25
Erica 23 | 0 | 11 | 11 | 52 | 20 | 3 | 22
average 16-21 and 23 | 22 | 2 | 24
Looking at the level of education of the inhabitants of Erica and extension 5, the numbers illustrate that 63% has obtained a secondary diploma and 33% out of those 63% even have a higher degree. Hence, 91% of its inhabitants has a job. The median of monthly income lies in between R3,201 and R6,400.

Recognising the financial means of people and knowing that 82% of the luxurious houses in this complex are fully owned or being paid off, people in this part of Belhar take good care of their property. This is for example glaringly apparent in the well-maintained front yards. Accordingly, in this residential complex, beautifully arranged front yards, trees and luxurious houses define the street image and in addition people in the neighbourhood also take care of the public environment. Consequently, the well-working design of the public space is been fully appreciated. Here, a series of so called pocket parks are connected by green pass ways, resulting in a network of socially controlled and attractive collective places where most of them are equipped as playgrounds and are provided with street benches and lighting.

**Complex 1: Erica, extension 5, extension 6 when it comes to Parliamentarians and extension 17**

(Data adapted from Statistics South Africa, 2011)

(Data adapted from Statistics South Africa, 2001.)
Complex 2: extensions 1 to 4 and 6 to 7

The percentage of people having at least obtained a secondary diploma in extension 2 and 4, which can be found representative for this second complex, drops to 46% of which only 9% has a higher degree. Consequently, also the employment rate lowers to 80% and the median income level only lies between R801 and R1,600. Since this complex was established for home-ownership, comparable to the first complex, almost 85% owns or are paying off their property. As such, due to the high level of ownership, houses are being well-maintained and the street image and public space, though not that luxurious and green, is nonetheless tidy and clean.

Complex 3: projects in extensions 1, 3, 6, 7 and 17

As is mentioned before, socio-economic Census-data of the group housing projects of the Belhar I project and the group housing project of extension 17 could not be found. However, as they were planned for the waged or lower class, it is most likely that the level of education, employment rate and income-level is lower than in the second complex. When comparing the percentages of ownership in extension 1 (94%), 6 (79%) and 7 (87%), containing both conventional houses and group housing projects with the percentages related to extensions 2 and 4, only comprising of conventional houses, these do not differ. As such one can assume that, since these group housing projects were above all planned as saleable units, most dwellings are fully owned or are being paid off, in analogy to the conventional houses of the Belhar I project. This assumption is as such supported with information obtained in an interview with the Existing Housing Department, showing that only three out of the 143 units of the group housing project in extension 3 are still rental units (Jefthas & Slamdien, 20-09-2012). According to people’s financial means, houses and streets are being maintained in the best way possible. Although they are in general also tidy and clean, they appear to be in a poorer condition in comparison with the first and second residential complex, since for example no trees were planted thus leaving the streets as tarred surfaces with dry sandy borders.

When looking at the public space, in two out of the four group housing projects particular attention was given to the design of these spaces. Only in the group housing project of extension 3 and 6 no public space was provided for. In Uytenbogaardt’s group housing project in extension 1 the car was banned and houses were built around pedestrianised collective public spaces. Uytenbogaardt believed that these special public spaces would enhance social bonding and would stimulate collective care taking of the physical environment (Davidson, 04-10-2012). Although today these woonerven are nonetheless used by cars, the tightness of the design prevents cars from speeding, which makes the area socially controllable and indeed enables people to fully maintain the areas. Yet, this type of public space is the only successful implementation in this third residential complex. In the group housing projects of extension 7, in spite of the fully worked out landscaping designs, the actual landscaping of the public spaces was never implemented thus leaving the public spaces blank or poorly equipped and maintained, due to the fact that these spaces, in contrast with those of the project in extension 1, were not that well encapsulated in the urban network.

Complex 4: flats on Chestnut Way

No data were found on the level of education, employment rate and income-level of the flats on Chestnut Way. However, knowing that these 316 flat-units are part of the non-saleable rental stock of the government and that some of the inhabitants of the flats have ‘indigent grants’, which means they earn too little to pay the full amount of rent and hence are being granted a cut rate, the assumption is made that these inhabitants are having
In this residential complex are saleable units. These numbers also explain the higher 44% rental rate although the houses where in all other parts of Belhar this percentage is zero or at the highest 1%. Of the houses lighting is being provided with candles instead of electricity between R401 and R800. Accordingly, it is also not surprising that in 4% the employment rate lowered to 70% with a median monthly income of 11% of the residents have a secondary diploma and only 2% a higher degree.

When comparing the numbers on education, employment and income of the first two residential complexes, the numbers of the fifth and sixth residential complex stand out for their poor socio-economic position. Only 11% of the residents have a secondary diploma and only 2% a higher degree. The employment rate lowered to 70% with a median monthly income between R401 and R800. Accordingly, it is also not surprising that in 4% of the houses lighting is being provided with candles instead of electricity where in all other parts of Belhar this percentage is zero or at the highest 1%. These numbers also explain the higher 44% rental rate although the houses in this residential complex are saleable units.

Furthermore, comparable to the flats on Chestnut Way, people in these areas do not have the financial means to fully maintain their poorly established houses which results in very weak housing conditions, miserable iron corrugated backyard dwellings and impoverished street images. This is again being endorsed by several newspaper articles of which following is an example, quoting that ‘Baie van inmenslike omstandighede bly’.

The same can be said about the public spaces in these areas. Despite the fact that the street pattern of Uytenbogaardt’s masterplan for Belhar II and IIIa is still used in this residential complex, his idea of the collective public space which is incorporated in this pattern is never realised. His concept of creating intimate embedded public spaces using different materials when linking the poorly constructed rental stock, already mentioned in the first chapter of this master dissertation, with lower socio-economic status, it is not surprising that when visiting the flats, housing and environmental conditions were found to be very poor. This is moreover also confirmed in the Tygerberg District Plan which mentions the poor socio-economic living conditions in the flats, hence giving them a priority position for extensive public space upgrading (City of Cape Town, 2011b, pp. 29 & 115).

Accordingly, Pentz (19-09-2012) brought forward when interviewing him, that after a social impact study showed that the high density and bad quality of the Cape flats enhanced a lot of social problems, this resulted in the decision of the Divisional Council to ‘never build walk-up buildings again’.

**Complex 5 and 6: extensions 9 to 13 and 15 to 16**

When comparing the numbers on education, employment and income with the first two residential complexes, the numbers of the fifth and sixth residential complex stand out for their poor socio-economic position. Only 11% of the residents have a secondary diploma and only 2% a higher degree. The employment rate lowered to 70% with a median monthly income between R401 and R800. Accordingly, it is also not surprising that in 4% of the houses lighting is being provided with candles instead of electricity where in all other parts of Belhar this percentage is zero or at the highest 1%. These numbers also explain the higher 44% rental rate although the houses in this residential complex are saleable units. Furthermore, comparable to the flats on Chestnut Way, people in these areas do not have the financial means to fully maintain their poorly established houses which results in very weak housing conditions, miserable iron corrugated backyard dwellings and impoverished street images. This is again being endorsed by several newspaper articles of which following is an example, quoting that ‘Baie van inmenslike omstandighede bly’.

As such the government decided to renovate these houses, yet today it seems they only have been painted.

21. Though these dwellings were planned as rental stock, by using the system of ‘delayed transfers’ whereby rent is seen as a monthly pay-off, people are able to obtain their rental house as their property (Jefthas & Slamdien, 20-09-2012).

22. Paraphrased as: ‘Most of these houses are in miserable conditions which makes that the inhabitants live in inhumane conditions’.

However it has to be noted that while the fifth and sixth residential complex are found alike regarding socio-economic and housing conditions, this does not count for its public space. After all the sixth residential complex, extension 9, is the only realised part of the Belhar II and IIIa project where the public spaces were established along the lines of Uytenbogaardt’s principles. By comparing the public space of extension 11 with the public space of extension 9, only with regard to extension 9 the collective feeling can be perceived due to respectively the absence and presence of double storey houses surrounding the public space. Yet again, although no local amenities are provided for, here the public space has much more potential in comparison to the fifth residential complex.

**Food shortage in extensions 9 to 13 and 15 to 16**

Once ward councillor Jaftha decided to hand-out a donated wheelbarrow full of potatoes in extension 10. According to Jaftha people started to fight for the potatoes because there was that much of a food shortage due to their low income-level (Jaftha W.D., 12-09-2012). With regard to our own experience, in driving around Belhar with ward councillor Jaftha, we will as such never forget those asking him food, especially not the woman sitting on the side of the street as she was pregnant and hungry.
Complex 7: extensions 18 to 23 and 14

In comparison to the fifth and sixth residential complex the education level here again ameliorates to 22% percentage of the residents having a secondary degree and 2% a higher degree. Also the employment rate again is raised to 79% while the median monthly is between R801 and R1,600, both reaching the level of the second residential complex. Furthermore, since it was established as self-help project also ownership-rates of 82% correspond to the level of the second residential complex. However, since houses here were built by the owners themselves, having no technical skills whatsoever, housing conditions are of a much lesser standard than in the second residential complex. For this reason, the government decided to provide the sanitation facilities in the last part of the self-help area in extension 23, hence giving it the nickname 'toilet town'.

Furthermore, in 2010, parts of this area were improved and upgraded with speed humps, traffic lights and tarred sidewalks. Combining these upgrades with the high level of ownership, people became more or less 'proud' of their environment and hence tried to keep it as best maintained as possible, according to their financial means available. This as such resulted in more or less tidy streets. Yet, when referring to the public space no specific concept or design was provided for which resulted in a large number of abandoned and poorly equipped public squares.

Mental Boundaries

According to this analysis, the mental subdivision of Belhar into its two different ‘worlds’, as mentioned in the introduction is too little refined. Our analyses after all show that seven different residential complexes can be found corresponding to seven different ‘worlds’ with different historical backgrounds, physical environments and socio-economic conditions. This proofs that not only between, but also within Old and New Belhar segmentation exists.

Due to the class consciousness of the inhabitants of Old Belhar mental boundaries between the first residential upper-class complex and second middle-class complex are found and again also between the middle-class conventional houses of the second complex and the group housing projects of the third complex. Furthermore, as explained in the following text box, even the third and fourth complex is mentally bounded. Knowing that in relation to the fifth and sixth complex all Belharians refer to them as ‘the extensions’, using a bad undertone, it is not surprising that within the New
As discussed in previous sections, the design of Belhar was to a large extend based on the principles of the Neighbourhood Unit concept that carried out a rather idealised version of suburban life in contrast to the hectic environment of the city. However, as is pointed out by Stewart, 'while there was widespread official and professional acceptance of the neighbourhood concept, studies showed that it had little social validity' (Stewart in Patricios, 2002, p. 7). As this concept in the Belhar area indeed led to an introvert and inferior dormitory neighbourhood, combined with the precarious socio-economic conditions in the New Belhar area, all discussed in the three previous narratives, we will as such see that these elements today are the basis of a ‘breeding ground’ for the social problems and crime in the Belhar area which impose the establishment of a social cohesive community.

Belhar area, mental boundaries exist between these extensions and the self-help project of the seventh residential complex.

**Mental boundaries in extension 3**

'It is a tough area to live in. At one point there were shootings in the Flats every day. You had to duck and dive in your own house. [...] The flats are the boundary. I never go there. It is dangerous there.' (Local resident 1, group housing extension 3, 19-09-2012)

'I like living here. It is safe here, it is nice. I know my neighbours and they know me. We help each other when necessary. But if you have no business in the flats, people don’t want you here or they will at least ask you what your intentions are.' (Local resident 2, flats Chestnut Way extension 3, 20-09-2012)

In a final note it has to be mentioned that mental boundaries are even found within the different residential complexes and are often corresponding with the existing physical boundaries, be they streets or walls, thus reinforcing the mental boundaries in a physical way. Indeed, due to the high crime rates and hence due to a general lack of trust in mankind it appears that people only relate to their direct environment not trusting the ‘alien other across the street or behind the wall’. Just as the local resident of the group housing in extension 3 mentions that ‘everybody stays in his own extension, you don’t walk around when you have nothing to do in other areas’. As such, the presence of the small gated community in extension 6 used by Parliamentarians, indeed disrupts the coherent upper-class identity of the first residential complex. Even the trend of the private market to create private enclosed developments such as the Suikerbossie Villas in Erica, Jecoma Place next to extension 17 and Rabia Park in extension 3 enhances internal segmentation in the first, second, third and fourth residential complex. Furthermore, broad streets such as Erica Drive and Symphony Way shape mental boundaries dividing the second and third residential complex. Yet also within the fifth and sixth complex, albeit on a smaller scale, streets are seen as mental boundaries. This is especially the case when it comes to the ‘hot area’ of extension 13, as commented on by ward councillor Jaftha (04-09-2012): ‘You can get in, but you don’t know if you can get out’.

**BABA IN SAK WEGGEGOOI**

**Addressing the issue of rape**

Addressing the issue of violence

As discussed in previous sections, the design of Belhar was to a large extent based on the principles of the Neighbourhood Unit concept that carried out a rather idealised version of suburban life in contrast to the hectic environment of the city. However, as is pointed out by Stewart, while there was widespread official and professional acceptance of the neighbourhood concept, studies showed that it had little social validity. As this concept in the Belhar area indeed led to an introvert and inferior dormitory neighbourhood, combined with the precarious socio-economic conditions in the New Belhar area, all discussed in the three previous narratives, we will as such see that these elements today are the basis of a ‘breeding ground’ for the social problems and crime in the Belhar area which impose the establishment of a social cohesive community.

**SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN BELHAR**

Correlated to its apartheid planning history, as mentioned in the previous chapter and narratives, Belhar residents and especially people in the New Belhar area have a low level of education, low socio-economic standards and are mostly unemployed. As these people have no promising prospects and are furthermore concentrated in overcrowded and poor living conditions, they as such spend significant amounts of time on the streets in order to find some distraction. As mentioned by ward councillor Jaftha it is then that people become very vulnerable and are tending to seek refuge in drugs and alcohol.

As the desperate need for drugs and alcohol often cause people to act irrational, it is as such no surprise that related to this alcohol and drug abuse also other social problems arise. According to Jacobus Jaftha (12-09-2012), social worker in the Belhar area, child abuse, domestic violence and rape are very common in Belhar. On average, three rape-cases per month are being reported which not only occur on the streets but also happen in the...
domestic sphere. Other problematic elements are the high level of teenage pregnancies and cases of prostitution.

**Jacobs Jaftha, social worker**

Operating from a container in the backyard of the police station, social worker Jacobs Jaftha is confronted with the everyday problems of the Belhar residents. On a daily basis he listens to people's problems and is helping them to get in contact with the necessary rehabilitation clinics, courts, hospitals and legal aid offices.

Concerning these rehabilitation clinics, social worker Jaftha mentioned that these are only accessible for people who decide to enter them on a voluntary basis, except when minors are being send by their parents. In addition as only few of this clinics offer free treatment and counselling programmes, little people can afford rehabilitation. Above all, waiting lists are also very long, even for those clinics asking R30,000 entrance fee. According to Jacobus Jaftha the number of clinics is hence too low whilst he furthermore also mentions that within the Belhar neighbourhood itself, no clinic is provided for.

Besides redirecting people to the correct counselling centres, Jacobus Jaftha also leads the Belhar Victim’s Support Unit. In discussing this unit it is noteworthy that an explicit phased plan has been worked out in case a rape-victim reports at the Belhar police station. According to Jacobus Jaftha, related to their sex, people will first of all be attended to by either a male or female officer. Secondly, when it concerns a person under 10, a formal complaint is lodged in the Belhar police station and the child is referred to Jacobus Jaftha for emotional and psychological help. However, when older than 10, people are transferred to the Bellville Hospital which has more specialised medical staff and has a police-force of its own to trace down the offender. Victim and perpetrator there additionally undergo both the same medical examination testing for sexually transmitted diseases (Jaftha J., 12-09-2012).

**CRIME IN BELHAR**

In analogy to the way in which social problems arise, also crime related problems appear. As people do not have a proper income or become dependent on drugs and alcohol, they turn to robbery and theft in order to have money for food or to be able to pay for drugs and alcohol. In the month August 2012 there were all together 135 reported crime-cases in Belhar. Furthermore, under influence of drugs people also start acting reckless and thoughtless which often forms also an important motive for violence. As there is a high level of guns and knife possession in Belhar this frequently results in dangerous and violent clashes (Jaftha W.D., 04-09-2012).

To elaborate on the theft-problem, not only are Belharians are victimised, also street furniture and landscaping provision is targeted in order to obtain the valuable elements such as metal and copper. This also explains the general lack of well-maintained public space and landscaping in the New Belhar areas discussed in the previous narrative. Another striking example is the widespread theft of electricity. In order to prevent the illegal tapping of electricity, the street lightning is turned on 24 hours per day.

**Crime problems in Belhar**

"'n Spul tik-koppe so listigheid het die hele Belhar verlede week twee die link droebek laat nadat hulle 'n wateraansluiting besteel het. [...] Munisipale werkers moes al die valves herstel, want die geelkoper daarin is uitgebreek.\(^{23}\) (Flenterkoppe sny water af, 17-11-2008, Son)

'I used to go out on the streets at night, but it is not safe anymore. People don’t know what they are doing when they are using tic (drugs). They kill and rob you on the corners and cases for money to buy drugs.' (Local resident 1, group housing extension 3, 19-09-2012)

Whereas social problems and crime are both related to drugs and alcohol abuse, crime is furthermore also enhanced by the urban fabric of the Belhar neighbourhood itself. In greater Belhar today, inwardly looking structures, backyard oriented dwellings and urban isolation applied during apartheid have enhanced the lack of social control and manifested themselves in the prevalence of violence (Murray, 2011 p. 19). Although intentionally the neighbourhood unit concept was projected to suffer less from urban problems of crime and ill health today the idealised public realms contained in Uytenbogaardt’s visions of streets, playgrounds and public squares have given way to dangerous and alienating open spaces.

In the narrative ‘inferior dormitory neighbourhood’, the matter of the large tracts of undeveloped and unmaintained space were already discussed. Just as with the poor quality of the public environment, the extent to which this vacant land is present in Belhar, has a strong link to the prevalence of crime in the district. Large plots of vacant land, including space reserves and...

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\(^{23}\) Paraphrased as: ‘Last week the whole of Belhar had been cut off from water supply for two days as a couple of tik-addicts destroyed the connection to the water network. [...] Municipal workers were obliged to repair all valves as copper had been removed from them’.
buffer zones are being transformed into spaces that lack social control. In addition, the vacant land plots entail a disintegrated appearance and give opportunity to unwanted behaviour due to the lack of activity and social control. Moreover, they are frequently windswept, rubbish-laden, neglected and form negative elements in the urban fabric.

Because of the relationship between the physical environment and the presence of crime, measures have been taken to upgrade specific parts of Belhar in order to reduce crime (Jaftha W.D., 04-09-2012). In 2006, in an attempt to counter anti-social behaviour on vacant plots, the city has put up street lights upon individual vacant plots to increase the visibility of the place (Vrot kol’ nou helder belig, 24 2006). Later on, in 2008, trees between the Pentech station and Erica Drive were cut down to prevent muggings along this route (‘Bos van onheil’ gepak, 16-04-2008, Tygerburger).

Vacant land enhances crime in Belhar

‘The intersection of Symphony Way and Stellenbosch Arterial has become a danger to the people of Belhar. Smash and grabbs are on the increase as people are slipping deeper and deeper into poverty. It is easy for criminals to get away with the smash and grabbs because they can run into the bush never to be seen again. According to ward councillor Jaftha (04-09-2012) the criminals hide in the bushes and once they spot a vehicle they would like to target perform their act of crime and then run back into the bush (Intersection a problem, 31-03-2012, Tygerburger).

‘It’s a bush, the people who get into it are the gangs and that sort of thing. They drag women into there, rape them, take drugs there and the public want to close it. So they then tried fencing it but it doesn’t improve the security, it kills it.’ (Davidson, 04-10-2012).

Other places that are vulnerable to crime because they lack social control are the old railway line cutting through Belhar and the large vacant area of the Unibell station precinct. Furthermore do the problems relating to crime not only occur in the public sphere, they also take place in the ruins of empty buildings. Buildings that are left in a dilapidated state are used for crime related business, such as drug houses or places to run prostitution (‘Tikhuis geef hulle hoofpyne (Drughouse is terrorising the neighbourhood), 30-12-2009, Son Tikhuis gee hulle hoopynye’. Ruins a den for crime. Vacant land bodes no good, 10-10-2007, Tygerburger).

**SUMMIT OF CRIME IN BELHAR: THE SEXY BOYS STREET GANG**

The origin of gangsterism in the Cape Flats and the Belhar area

In the Cape Flats as a whole, it is believed that no less than 130 different street gangs are operating. As is illustrated by Standing: ‘Of the 130 gangs believed to be operating at the moment a few have been identified by the authorities as having become particularly powerful, bringing other smaller gangs into their business organisations. Well-known groups include the Americans, the Firm, the Hard Livings, the Sexy Boys, the Junky Funky Kids and the Mongrels. It is reported that these criminal organisations have been particularly aggressive in recruiting new members and expanding their territories’ (Standing, 2006, p.11). As for Belhar, the majority of the area falls within the territory of the prominent Sexy Boys gang which name already appears in reports dating from 1978 (Standing, 2006, p.11).

Numbered gangs

The numerous ‘street gangs’ operating on the Cape Flats are closely affiliated with the numbered ‘prison gangs’ which control life within South African prisons and are organised according to a complex society formed by generations of inmates. As such, besides their resounding street names these streets gangs hence also become clustered in ‘prison gang numbers’ such as the 26s, the 27s and the 28s.

The relation between street gangs and prison numbers is often associated with trading businesses and alliances. Today, the two most important trading blocs are the 26s-affiliated gangs (including the Americans, the Mongrels, the Fancy Boys and the Sexy Boys) and the 28s-affiliated gangs (including the Firm and the Hard Livings) (Standing, 2006, p. 105; Smith 01-09-2012). Via their affiliation with street gangs, these large clandestine and hierarchically organised prison gangs as such are able to influence organised crime from both outside and within prison walls (Standing, 2006, p.15).

According to Standing, as street gangs are considered to be a typical problem of Coloured neighbourhoods, although they had been operating in the Cape Town city centre in the years prior to the forced removals, the problems escalated after the widespread displacement of the Coloured families (Standing, 2006, p.9).
Home of Sexy Boys 'boss' shot at, petrol-bombed
(30-03-2013, Weekend Argus)

Cape Town – The Glenhaven stronghold of the alleged leader of the notorious Sexy Boys gang, Jerome ‘Donkie’ Booysen, was petrol-bombed twice and shot at four times during a brazen dusk attack. An Audi R8’s back wheel was flattened and a Volkswagen Polo’s hatch and bumper burnt during the bomb attacks and shooting which took place on Thursday evening. Shots were also fired into a garage and gate. No injuries were reported from the attack outside the home, which is surrounded by surveillance cameras. The fire brigade was called, but neighbours had doused the flames by the time they arrived.

A security guard witnessed the entire attack while walking from one of Booysen’s other homes near the Rue Emmy Street home, where the attack occurred. The security cameras filmed three attackers in a Nissan 1400 bakkie lighting explosive devices, then hurling them at the home. The driver of the bakkie fired shots, a passenger threw a bomb, while a person on the back of the bakkie threw a second bomb, sources reported. The Sexy Boys gang, which is being investigated by the Hawks for drug-running, has declined police help, saying it would conduct its own investigation.

Pagad leader Abdus Salaam Ebrahim denied rumours that the anti-gangsterism and drugs organisation was behind the attack. ‘If members of the public responded by attacking that house because drugs and gangsterism are destroying the lives of their children, and destroying our country, then we applaud that action – but only if it was done for the right reasons,’ he said.

Last month the Hawks raided three other homes in Booysen’s large property portfolio in the northern suburbs. They seized 250-litre metal containers believed to contain chemicals used to make drugs, as well as other machinery.

Booysen, a former building inspector at the Cape Town City Council for 21 years until 2006, has been accused of murder three times. None of the cases has made it to the courtroom. Besides owning several homes in Glenhaven, Bellville and Durbanville, Booysen also owns houses and complexes in Belhar. The owner of the Belhar Rugby Club, Booysen describes himself as a community builder. Police spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Andre Traut confirmed the attack, but said the owner of the house did not want to lay a charge. The police would not investigate the attack.
Gang violence in Belhar regularly makes headline news across Cape Town. It often consists of two rival gangs fighting over territory. Not only do the competing gangs target each other, often innocent people are being caught in crossfire. At the attended community police forum meeting of September 19th of 2012, organised by the South African Police Service (SAPS) to inform and consult the Belhar inhabitants, it was very clearly pointed out that gang violence within Belhar is a matter of alarming size. Residents living in Uytenbogaardt’s new town scheme recall these activities dating back to the 1970s at the height of UPRU’s claims to the successes of their spatial ideals in the making of community (Cloete in Murray, 2011, p. 19).

Whereas gang violence in Belhar currently is a matter of everyday concern, the situation twenty years ago was considerably worse (Local resident 1, group housing extension 3, 19-09-2012). Reaching its zenith in the mid-1990s, gang warfare would affect the whole of Belhar, including the more affluent part, whereas gang violence nowadays is geographically dispersed and concentrated in the New Belhar area, especially in extension 13 (Jaftha W.D., 04-09-2012).

As explained in the previous paragraphs, due to poor socio-economic conditions, poor environmental quality, overcrowding, unemployment and lack of opportunities, within the New Belhar area, crime and gangsterism are indeed part of everyday life and are ever present in the streets (SAPS community meeting, 19-09-2012). Graffiti marks of the different gangs claiming territory in Belhar are visual indications of the regularly outburst of the gang wars present in the area. Today extension 13 and the flats on Chestnut Way are the sole part of Belhar which is not controlled by the Sexy Boys (Local resident 1, group housing extension 3, 19-09-2012). 28s here defend their territory which often results in violent clashes. It is as such that today extension 13 is known as ‘the hot area’. As the Old Belhar area is the more affluent part, crime there is present in a more concealed form through theft and robbery. Shootings in this section of Belhar are rare. Moreover do gangsters have to be careful not to antagonise these middle and upper class Old Belhar residents in order to be able to continue to operate freely in the New Belhar area.

**Extension 13 is the hot area**

“Extension 13 is the hot area. You can get in, but you don’t know if you can get out. I work with the people. […] These people don’t go to school. Crime is top-level. There are shootings every week. I was sitting in my office last week and there were shootings. On a monthly basis I think one or two people die because of shootings. They take a lot of guns. I don’t know how they get the guns. It is a matter of territory. If they don’t shoot ordinary civilians they shoot each other. If the one guy sells here and the other there and one of them moves over, it is trouble and they shoot. They prevent each other from making money. It is drugs.” (Jaftha W.D., 04-09-2012)

‘Today in extension 13, as a result of the shooting of last Thursday, there was an attempted murder at 5 o’clock p.m. A 6-year old got shot in the foot in crossfire. The shooting of last Thursday killed a young boy while he was caught in crossfire between two rival gangs. […] At the moment we are very worried about the people in extension 13.’ (Chief Commander, SAPS community meeting, 19-09-2012)

**SPAS coping with gangsterism and crime**

The tasks of a police force in the Cape Flats, such as the one in Belhar are arduous. Due to the high levels of crime and the lack of capacity at the local SAPS police station, the constables operating at the Belhar police station are highly overworked. During the community police forum meeting people frequently complained about the fact that police only comes when you call them but are not patrolling preventively.

Above all, police forces to some extent also have to deal with scepticism and distrust from the local residents and have to deal with accusations that are related to corruption (Standing, 2006, p. 146). Although it is not generally known where the street gangs get their weapons from, it is presumed there might be ties between certain gangs and police forces. A Belhar inhabitant stated it as such: ‘They also get guns from the police. They used to have AK47s. The police cooperate with, or allow the gangs otherwise they will be on the hit-list too. People are therefore afraid to report to the police because the gangsters will know you and take out your family.’

**Impact on children**

Children learn in many ways: through the formal education system, through family and social contact and thirdly through exposure to various facets of their environment (UPRU, 1990, p. 136). Being exposed to poverty, growing up in physically and socially instable environments and often also in destabilised family structures, youths as such form a vulnerable layer in the Belhar society. Considering this, the younger generation often does not understand the importance of education and is easily being tricked into
the world of gangsterism (Engel, 01-09-2012). As the Belhar children also have to walk long distances to get to school, lots of them get into trouble on the way (Engel, 01-09-2012). Furthermore the shortfall of recreational possibilities does enhance them to hang out on the street where they get influenced by gangsterism, drugs, alcohol and crime. After all, in contrast to their home situation, gang lords can create aspirations for youngsters. Gangs give them a salary, feed them and provide them with things they never had before, including a place to stay and protection (Steenkamp, 03-10-2012). In this sense, joining a gang as a child can be seen as both a problem of lifestyle and a survival-technique (Standing, 2006, p. 83).

Setting examples for children

‘There is another gangster in this area, if you would meet him you would never know it is a gangster. He drives flashy cars, has a mansion, he is very wealthy and he looks like good guy. If you are a kid, you want to be like him.’ (Steenkamp, 03-10-2012)

‘The biggest problem is the youth. We have to focus on the future generation. They are not interested in going to school. They see the guy next to them having a lot of money, they want that too. There are no role-models. They see someone sitting there, they will sit next to them. […] In extension 13 they breed the skollies25 that will go to jail.’ (Jaftha W.D., 04-09-2012)
perspective, currently private student accommodation, owned by one of Belhar’s most prominent gangsters, accounts for the housing of around 100 students (Gang leader, 21-11-2012). Related to their rental stock, local police furthermore pointed out that a certain number of them are also used as strategic locations for drug-dealing activities or are being exploited for prostitution (SAPS community meeting, 19-09-2012).

Selling and reselling

One of the accounts of a local Belhar resident in the group housing area of extension 3 illustrates the way in which gangsterism is influencing the Belhar property market. According to the woman, the previous owner of her house had sold it for as little as R45,000 to gangsters operating in Belhar whereas the gangsters in return had resold the same house for no less than R280,000 to her brother in law. According to the woman, since the previous owner was in urgent need of cash, he would have sold his home at any price.

Furthermore, as this phenomenon also occurred in the Belhar self-help areas which were intended to promote home-ownership for low income families, authorities hence tried to counter this by implementing the ‘Preventing Rights’ stipulating you were only allowed to sell your house after eight years (Jeftha & Slamdien, 20-09-2012). Yet as the self-help area was established in the 1980s these eight years long have passed by. Gangsters today as such also operate freely in the Belhar self-help areas.

Due to socio-economic problems few investors are attracted to develop large-scale private residential developments, today gangsters as such control the private property market of Belhar. Vice versa, Standing (2006, p. 157) also states that these ‘dirty cash’ practices further destabilise the formal local economy as organised crime infiltrates legitimate businesses. In quoting Haefele, Standing argues that the unchecked activities of gangs will lead to the ‘corruption of the legitimate economy […] through the application of violence to distort the normal functioning of the market for goods or services’. Proof of this reinforcement of doubtful investment conditions was found interviewing Willem Steenkamp (03-10-2012), divisional director of Calgro M3 Holding Ltd which is the private consultant for the latest Belhar CBD development: ‘There is a very powerful gang, one of them approached us, they want us to pay protection money. If you start the construction they will keep you ‘safe’. In all our projects we have to deal with gangsterism’.

Besides being infiltrated in the real estate market, there also have been several accounts of the involvement of gangsterism in the minibus taxi business (Battle for control of the doors and the ‘drugs’, 03-02-2012, Mail & Guardian). According to some residents Belhar gang leaders own a number of minibus taxi companies which again reinforces their spatial control over the neighbourhood.

Belhar Rugby Club

Another aspect of the interrelatedness of gangsterism in everyday life in Belhar is the involvement of gangsters in the local sports business. With money related to criminal activities, improvements to the soccer fields were made and players of the rugby team are being paid (Jaftha W.D., 04-09-2012). It is as such commonly known that the owner of the Belhar Rugby Club is also involved with the Sexy Boys gang. Because of this stark affiliation between sports and gangsterism, people and especially youths are vulnerable to the exposure of wrong role models (Jaftha W.D., 04-09-2012). This notion is being reinforced by the prevailing perception of the local Belhar residents that an influential person such as a gang lord can provide more for the community than the government (Smith, 01-09-2012). This notion of the sometimes rather ‘positive’ image of gangsters is also discussed by Standing (Standing, 2006, p. 102): ‘Despite being well known as dealers and as violent men, many engage in philanthropic activities, investing in local churches, sponsoring local football teams and giving cash hand-outs during festivities. Indeed, several people in positions of authority complain that because drug merchants are not visibly involved in selling drugs it is easy for impoverished residents to forget their illegal dealings and see them simply as rich local benefactors. What is surprising for outsiders is that these positive feelings towards the drug merchants coexist with their image as violent and dangerous men’.

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5. PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL IMMOBILITY

In relation to the implementation of the New Town principle and Neighbourhood Unit concept during apartheid, the UPRU mentioned the following: ‘[…] many of the ideas and intentions contained no industrial development and only limited provision for commercial development. They could thus never become the self-contained ‘towns’ envisaged by Howard […]’ (UPRU, 1990, p. 45). As mentioned in the first chapter, this deliberate wrong use of overseas planning models thus has led to a policy of land use separation giving a preferential treatment to the city centre. Hence, within these New Towns ‘[…] residents had to continue to travel to work and shop in the already established areas of Cape Town’ (UPRU, 1990, p. 45). The fact that these residential areas were physically separated from commercial areas, work areas and recreation areas indeed meant that separate trips had to be made for almost every activity undertaken outside the home (UPRU, 1990, p. 115). The sprawling and fragmented urban system of the Cape Metropolitan Area as such has led to an increased overall amount of movement from the apartheid New Towns in the periphery towards the city centre.

Given the large distances to be covered from the periphery to the city centre, people in the apartheid New Towns are hence obliged to use private motorised or public transport. Yet within Belhar, similar to other periphery New Towns, inhabitants are facing difficulties relating to their physical mobility. These problems are first of all linked to the fact that the large and rapidly increasing proportion of the urban population simply cannot afford the costs associated with private vehicle ownership. Whereas the urban design practices of apartheid were to a large extent focused on the usage of the automobile, the low level of car-ownership creates as such major transportation problems (UPRU, 1990, p. 115). Furthermore, these problems became even worse when, in relation to the people who do not own a car, the apartheid government also failed to create the preconditions for a viable, efficient and widely accessible public transportation system (UPRU, 1990, p. XII).

Consequently, the costs of the daily movements of urban dwellers, in terms of time and money, are becoming increasingly intolerable (UPRU, 1990, p. XII). In general, in spite of the subsidies which are given to individuals in response to the costs of transportation, many of the poor have to spend more than 10% of their income on transport (Turok, 2001, p. 2352). This as such leads to a social immobility besides the physical immobility. Both of these issues are the main subject of this narrative and will be reviewed in the following paragraphs.

PHYSICAL IMMOBILITY

Low levels of car-ownership

According to Patricios (2002, p. 5), mentioned in the first chapter of this master dissertation, the Neighbourhood Unit concept was completely designed for the automobile age. Hence as this concept was also implemented in Belhar it is no surprise that when planning the Belhar II and IIIa Chamber of Commerce area, traffic consultants were appointed to investigate access to the area together with the anticipated vehicle ownership levels.

This team as such pointed out that at that time, in 1978, only 30% of the households in the Belhar neighbourhood had a car of their own which meant that there were only 76 cars per 1,000 inhabitants. However, this study did anticipate that by the year 2000, car-ownership levels would have increased to 52% of the households which thus approved their car-oriented design (Director of local government, 1979).

Today the Census data of 2001 could be used to evaluate the estimated data in the 1978 report. Although these Census data do not incorporates data directly related to car-ownership levels, the numbers related to usage of modes of transport to school or work are available, including the number of people that use private motorised transport to conduct these trips, both as driver and as passenger. The combination of these data subsequently shows that little over 7% of the people in extensions 10 to 13 use the car to get to work or school. This is by far not the anticipated level of 52% as written in the transportation report of 1978. Even in Old Behar which is, as mentioned in the narrative ‘divided neighbourhood’, the more affluent part of Belhar, the levels for Erica, extension 2, 4 and 5 together shows that only 24% of the people are using private motorised transportation to get to work.

![Table 1: Anticipated vehicle ownership](chart.png)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1978</th>
<th>1985</th>
<th>2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vehicles/Household</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of households</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of households</td>
<td>3,800</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of vehicles</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>3,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approx. no. of vehicles per 1,000 population</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

> Anticipated vehicle ownership (Director of local government, 1979)
Nevertheless, although trains are considered to be one of the most frequently used modes of transportation, today there are several problems related to this mode of transportation as there for example have been reports of theft and assaults of travellers on a regular basis. Moreover, the infrastructure of the stations is very poor which leads to intractable technical problems and often huge delays. Also during peak hours the railway lines operate near full capacity whereas outside peak hours the stations are deserted and are being avoided with regard to safety issues (Jaftha W.D., 12-09-2012).

In Belhar, especially the Pentech station is considered a dangerous place at night where several attacks have been reported (SAPS, community meeting, 19-09-2012).

Minibus taxis and Golden Arrow buses

As minibus taxis cover a much wider and more refined network than the train, like everywhere else in South Africa they are a very popular mode of transportation in Cape Town and the Belhar area. Furthermore, due to their abundant presence and as their services are considered to be less expensive, minibus taxis are hence preferred to the fixed bus lines such as those of the Golden Arrow busses (Local resident 2, flats Chestnut Way extension 3, 20-09-2012).

Despite the flexibility and cost-effectiveness of the minibus taxis, there also have been problems related to the minibus taxi business. As they do not provide a direct connection from Belhar to the city centre of Cape Town and do not operate according to timetables but solely on demand, it as such takes more time to get to your point of destination. Furthermore, reports of unsafe transport and violence are frequently made. Above all, one of the Belhar residents also stated that minibus taxi drivers are often linked to organised robberies of passengers, whereby the minibus taxi would drive into extension 13, where it would be stopped and get robbed (Local resident 1, group housing extension 3, 19-09-2012).

Schoolbus

During the years of apartheid the bus terminus in extension 8 was a well-functioning transportation collector and distributor. The system was especially focused on the free transportation of schoolchildren throughout the wider area. However, after 1994 the bus transfer point was shut down and has been deserted ever since. Nowadays, children have to walk extensive distances in order to get to school, which takes time and is considered to be unsafe. Children are facing the risk of being exposed to dangerous traffic situations and to criminal street life culture (Smith, 01-09-2012).
As mentioned in the introduction of this narrative and earlier in this master dissertation, up until today, people living in the urban periphery still have to travel long distances in order to get to work in the city centre or other dispersed commercial or industrial areas. Unfortunately as explained in the previous paragraphs, it are precisely these people who today are also almost completely immobile due to low levels of car-ownership and the severe problems related to the public transport. Subsequently, those people living on the urban edges not only have to travel long distances in order to get work, they also have to spend a considerable amount of time and money on transportation whilst being less easily connected to job opportunities that are located outside of Belhar. As a consequence, this form of physical immobility enhances a form of social immobility as it also affects the socio-economic situation of families living on the periphery.

Referring to the large number of people which take the train at the Pentech station on a daily basis to work elsewhere in the city, a Belhar inhabitant describes it as follows: ‘People now have to get up at four in the morning to walk considerable distances to the train stations. After a long work day people get home late in the evening and have almost no time left for relaxation or to spend time with their families’. (Smith, 01-09-2012)

This quote later on also became confirmed in the UPRU-document ‘The structure and form of Metropolitan Cape Town: Its origins, influences and performance’ which states the following: ‘[...] people who have to expend large amounts of energy returning home in the evening are able to spend less time interacting with their children, helping them with homework, preparing nutritious meals, and so on. This in turn retards the social and intellectual development of the young’ (UPRU, 1990, p. 134). Consequently, the poorer people in the periphery are stuck in this cycle. In general, the inequitable pattern of access to mobility for certain groups of people result in an overall widening of the gap between rich and poor.

Since the levels of car-ownership are low and people are dependent on bus and train services, movements to and from the Belhar stations are carried out on foot. Yet, despite the high rate of pedestrians no well-maintained or safe pavements are provided alongside the Belhar roads. Hence combined with the specific enclosed road design and vacant land plots, people started taking shortcuts crossing unutilised land plots which is why today, spread over the urban structure of Belhar, many ‘desire lines’ can be identified. Above all, as this large number of vacant plots attracts crime-related activities, as was explained in the narrative ‘breeding ground for social problems and crime’ thus resulting in people having to walk large distances on uncontrolled trajectories. As a consequence, in 2012 the City of Cape Town therefore started to construct ‘non-motorised transport facilities’ in the Belhar area. Yet, up until today this has solely led to the provision of street lightning and the tarring of the desire line running from Pentech station through extension 23 to extension 9 and 15. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that the in 2008 constructed pedestrian bridge over the R300 freeway that connects Belhar with Kalifontein can be considered a positive element.

Furthermore, besides the lack of pavements also bicycle infrastructure is not present. Hence the usage of bicycles is very uncommon and is generally regarded as unsafe especially on higher order roads such as Erica Drive and Symphony Way. Nevertheless, the lack of this bicycle infrastructure is regrettable since transportation by bike could be a valuable, low-cost and easily accessible alternative for the automobile.

As mentioned in the introduction of this narrative and earlier in this master dissertation, up until today, people living in the urban periphery still have to travel long distances in order to get to work in the city centre or other dispersed commercial or industrial areas. Unfortunately as explained in the previous paragraphs, it are precisely these people who today are also almost completely immobile due to low levels of car-ownership and the severe problems related to the public transport. Subsequently, those people living on the urban edges not only have to travel long distances in order to get work, they also have to spend a considerable amount of time and money on transportation whilst being less easily connected to job opportunities that are located outside of Belhar. As a consequence, this form of physical immobility enhances a form of social immobility as it also affects the socio-economic situation of families living on the periphery.

Referring to the large number of people which take the train at the Pentech station on a daily basis to work elsewhere in the city, a Belhar inhabitant describes it as follows: ‘People now have to get up at four in the morning to walk considerable distances to the train stations. After a long work day people get home late in the evening and have almost no time left for relaxation or to spend time with their families’. (Smith, 01-09-2012)

This quote later on also became confirmed in the UPRU-document ‘The structure and form of Metropolitan Cape Town: Its origins, influences and performance’ which states the following: ‘[...] people who have to expend large amounts of energy returning home in the evening are able to spend less time interacting with their children, helping them with homework, preparing nutritious meals, and so on. This in turn retards the social and intellectual development of the young’ (UPRU, 1990, p. 134). Consequently, the poorer people in the periphery are stuck in this cycle. In general, the inequitable pattern of access to mobility for certain groups of people result in an overall widening of the gap between rich and poor.
6. CENTRAL SPOT IN A WEB OF OPPORTUNITIES

As discussed in the aforementioned narratives there are some constraints and difficulties to both the setting and situation of Belhar. Nevertheless, within its neighbourhood or within its direct surrounding area, there are several elements which are of utmost importance when concentrating on valuable reference points for future development. All of these elements will be discussed in this narrative. As such, the position of Belhar is privileged in terms of location, since it is centrally located within the Cape Metropolitan Area. Furthermore, the fortunate position of Belhar due to its proximity to the D.F. Malan International Airport, the educational institutes of UWC and CPUT, the Transnet area and Voortrekker Road will be addressed. In addition, up-coming projects in and around Belhar will be reviewed in relation to their value as future economic catalysts for the area.

CENTRAL LOCATION IN THE RADIAL NETWORK AND ALONG THE FUTURE NORTH-SOUTH LINK

As mentioned in the previous narrative, the deliberate wrong use of the New Town principle and Neighbourhood Unit concept led to a policy of land use separation giving a preferential treatment to the city centre. This as such generated an increased overall amount of movement from the apartheid New Towns in the periphery of which Belhar is an example, towards the city centre and the dispersed industrial clusters. Due to the low level of car-ownership and problems related to public transport this enhanced both physical and social immobility.

Nevertheless, when comparing the issues of immobility in apartheid New Towns we found Belhar in a more privileged position. Given its central location within the Cape Flats, the neighbourhood as such suffers less from the radial transportation structure than for example Mitchells Plain or Khayelitsha. Where people in these last areas have to rely entirely on the N2 to get to the city centre, Belhar is much better off being situated between and connected with both the N1 and N2 leading to the city centre. Furthermore, when it comes to travelling by train, again the inhabitants of Khayelitsha and Mitchells Plain have to travel twice the distance to Cape Town, compared to those in Belhar, since they are obliged to first travel in the direction of the city centre in order to change at Mutual station to get to Bellville, the 2nd CBD of the metropolitan area. Belhar on the contrary, has a direct connection to both CBD’s.

On the other hand, when it comes to a road connection between both Bellville and Khayelitsha, Belhar has a more disadvantaged position similar to all other apartheid New Towns. A link between Bellville in the north and Khayelitsha in the south, passing Belhar, is after all not supported by compatible road infrastructure or a well-organised IRT-system. This again is not surprising knowing that all connections between the formerly White (Bellville), Coloured (Belhar) and Black (Khayelitsha) areas were prohibited during apartheid.

27. Both Symphony Way and the R300 connect Belhar with the N1 and N2.
Economic residential surroundings, this link is today considered a dangerous route during the evenings and at night and puts a constraint on the mobility of UWC and CPUT students living in Mitchells Plain or Khayelitsha. A build-out north-south network is thus necessary if one wants to develop the area as a dynamic urban network, which is strikingly also recognised in the 2010-2014 Institutional Operating Plan of UWC: ‘Failure to achieve appropriate land use and corridor development conducive to the academic and innovation project would have long-term adverse consequences, not only for UWC, but also for the regional innovation strategy and the possibility of revitalising the strategically placed Bellville CBD and its surrounding residential areas’ (UWC, 2010, p. 47).

However, change is on the way since the necessity of a proper north-south link is incorporated in the Tygerberg District Plan proposing Symphony Way as a future development route between Bellville, Belhar, Mitchells Plain and Khayelitsha (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 20). As it is no activity corridor zoned by high-density urban development, the north-south link will primarily focus on its mobility function incorporating an IRT-system (City of Cape Town, n.d). Yet where access allows it, in spite of its main focus on mobility, this north-south link will also encourage commercial, economic and residential development enabling the establishment of a network of complementary neighbourhoods which would benefit the overall development of Belhar (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 20).

**Belhar railway stations**

**Modderdam station**

Modderdam station, situated on the western border of the Belhar neighbourhood alongside Modderdam Road, is integrated within a small commercial node with facilities such as a KFC and Spar. As it is located on the other side of Modderdam Road, the station is only accessible from Old Belhar via a pass way that runs underneath Modderdam Road. In spite of this direct pedestrian connection people are reluctant to use this pass way as it is lacking adequate street lighting and deemed to be unsafe as already discussed in the first chapter of this master dissertation. Furthermore, this station is barely used by the people of Old Belhar since they, to a large extent, have access to private means of transportation.

**Unibell station**

The Unibell station, situated in extension 8 on the Belhar CBD area, is both used by the residents of Belhar and the students and staff members of UWC. There is little to no commercial activity linked to the station, except for a few informal traders. The Unibell station also functions as an entry point to the UWC campus and has therefore been equipped with security and surveillance cameras. Because the Unibell station is not considered an official gate of the campus, the facilities upon entrance are minimal.

**Pentech station**

The Pentech station, situated on the eastern corner of the Belhar neighbourhood, is both a destination station for employees of the industrial area surrounding it and the students of CPUT. Furthermore, it is probably the most frequently used station of Belhar as it is the nearest station for the people coming from the poorer parts of New Belhar and Delft. Given its isolated location, in spite of the frequency by which it is used, up until today no commercial development is present at the station precinct.

Moreover, since the area along the road link between Bellville and Khayelitsha does not contain the necessary threshold to provide all facilities in all communities, the area will presumptively evolve towards a network of complementary neighbourhoods. Hence, bearing in mind the advantages of resource sharing, communities should be well connected in order to make such cooperations economically viable (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 153). As such, the current lack of a continuous north-south movement route also compounds the lack of investment opportunities (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 15). Furthermore, due to the lack of adequate provision of street lighting and other supporting street furniture along the route and its poor
Furthermore, as the CTIA precinct just south of Belhar will be expanded due to its superior business location for commercial and industrial activities, extra job opportunities are on the way. Yet above all, since out of the three locations for expansion, one is situated at the intersection of the Stellenbosch Arterial and Symphony Way it also gives way to economic opportunities for the vacant land in Belhar along the Stellenbosch Arterial (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 23).

Central Location in the Industrial Heart

According to the Tygerberg district plan, the area around Belhar also makes up 31% of all industrial properties within Cape Town (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 16). These areas, all within a range of 6km, are amongst others Parow Industrial, the industrial area of Transnet, Stikland Industrial, Sacks Circle Industrial, Bellville-South Industrial, D.F. Malan Cape Town International Airport (CTIA) Industrial and Epping Industrial. As it is the greatest cluster of industrial activity within the Cape Town region, Belhar as such is again privileged to be in the centre of the ‘industrial heart’ of the city which provides a substantial amount of job opportunities (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 16).

Belhar within the ‘industrial heart’ of Cape Town

(1) Parow industrial precinct
(2) Transnet industrial precinct
(3) CTIA industrial precinct
(4) Triangle Farm industrial precinct
(5) Bellville South industrial precinct
(6) Sacks Circle industrial precinct
(7) Stikland industrial precinct
(8) Blackheath industrial precinct

> Future CTIA precinct (City of Cape Town, 2011b)

(Blue) Mixed use and intensification
(Purple) New industrial development
(Grey) General industrial
(Orange) Potential high density development

(31) CTIA northern mixed use node
(32) Airport north-east precinct
(33) Airport western precinct
EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTES: UWC AND CPUT

As mentioned in the first chapter, the apartheid regime worked towards a complete separation of the four ethnic groups. In Cape Town this, amongst other things, resulted in a separate university isolated in the inferior environment of the Cape Flats serving solely the Black and Coloured population. Being established as a low-based university having a long disadvantaged history both in funding and location, UWC today is one of the major fast growing and ambitious educational institutes, both nationally and internationally. By investing in both academic performances and the built environment, such as the new Life Sciences building over-looking Modderdam Road, it profiles itself as a science university of excellence (UWC, 2010, p. 7). Hence at this point UWC becomes an extremely important stakeholder within the region of Belhar.

In addition, given its history and due to its long-standing struggle for equality and insistence for transformation, along with its position as a growing and ambitious university, UWC is also profiling itself as an ‘engaged’ stakeholder (UWC, 2010, p. 7). This engagement, as stated in its Operating Plan, echoes its wish to be an excellent university attracting investment, students and researchers in a positive, clean and safe urban environment while at the same time being responsive to the social and economic imperatives of its surrounding previously disadvantaged population (UWC, 2010, p. 47). Hence at this point UWC becomes an extremely important stakeholder within the region of Belhar.

When examining the strategies of the university, it is noted that UWC implements two different approaches. First all, similar to CPUT, it is tying closer links with local communities through various kinds of outreach projects. Whilst CPUT consequently focuses upon the mere technical aspects, for example by installing solar boilers on the roof of the Belhar Community Centre (The Hydro Cruisers, 2013), UWC provides free legal services through the Legal Aid Clinic or arranges for example internships at the Belhar Victim’s Support Unit (Jaftha J., 12-09-2012). Secondly, UWC is also working towards a complete urban upgrade of their surroundings in collaboration with external partners. With regard to its main campus, UWC as such above all is concentrating itself on the Transnet area north of the campus and the Belhar CBD precinct south of the campus, which both will be reviewed further on.

Being adjacent to UWC’s main campus, it is as such in this engagement strategy that the opportunities for Belhar lay. Furthermore, the fact that UWC and CPUT are also one of the important employment generators within the area of Belhar, should also not be ignored (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 15).

BELHAR CBD

As discussed in chapter 1, since the establishment of Belhar in the 1970s there have been several attempts to develop extension 8 into a vibrant fully-fledged town centre. Yet these previous plans never made it into realisation, leaving the area almost completely vacant. Today a new plan is proposed to develop the almost 65ha CBD area. The proposal for the development of the CBD of Belhar consists of two phases which will combine residential development with the creation of a commercial and retail node enhancing the viability and sustainability of the area (Strategic Environmental Focus, 2012, p. 13). Phase one, east of Symphony Way surrounded by the Oasis College in the south and CPUT in the north, is a social housing development while phase two, west of Symphony Way and just south of Unibell Station and UWC is developed as mixed use development (CTE Consultants, 2012, p. 14). At the time of our research phase one was already approved while phase two, west of Symphony Way and just south of Unibell Station and UWC is developed as mixed use development (CTE Consultants, 2012, p. 14). At the time of our research phase one was already approved while the environmental-impact assessment (EIA) of the second phase, including a public participation process28, was started. This project will give new opportunities to the development of Belhar as it should bring a new dynamism into the area.

Belhar CBD, Belhar CBD Development Company (Pty) Ltd and Calgro M3

In order to realise this project, the Belhar CBD Development Company (Pty) Ltd, under Power of Attorney from the Provincial Government, appointed Calgro M3 Holdings Ltd as its project consultant (Provincial Government of the Western Cape, 2010, p. 1; CTE Consultants, 2012, p. 2). This listed stock exchange company, established in 1995, is one of the biggest developers in the country and will organise the project management as well as the surveying and design of the project (Steenkamp, 10-03-2012).

Since South Africa is struggling with an incredible backlog of housing, housing projects often result in solely a filling of space without vision instead of...
developing an integrated spatial project. Yet, Calgro M3’s business model strives to ensure the creation of sustainable settlements by holding on to the concept of ‘live, work and play’ (Steenkamp, 10-03-2012). It as such tries to distinguishes itself from other building companies by taking up a holistically approach, providing besides housing also commercial development and social amenities including schools and hospitals (Steenkamp, 10-03-2012). Hence, the concept followed in the Belhar CBD project tries to incorporate their business philosophy.

Phase 1

At the moment, a lot of middle-class people in the area around Belhar work as policemen, nurses or are employed at UWC and CPUT. Earning around R9,000 a month they fall in between the ‘gap’ of two income groups, thus being too much qualified for state subsidised housing and earning not enough to enter the private housing market (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 100). As such, these people are not able to purchase a house near their place of employment and hence have to commute long distances in order to get to work (CTE Consultants, 2012, p. 10).

Phase 2

The second phase of the Belhar development, a R1.03 billion project, will be a mixed use integrated residential development for the lower end of the market comprising of 2,790 dwelling units (145,800m²) and both a commercial (1,024m²) and retail complex (10,000 m²) (Provincial Government of the Western Cape, 2010, p. 30). Furthermore, provision will be made for a civic and religious centre, a justice centre and 24,001m² of open space (Provincial Government of the Western Cape, 2010, pp. 7-8).
In order to make the retail centre operational, the residential component of the second phase is developed as a high density project. Only 17,314 m² will be provided with low density housing while 17,246 m² will be developed as a mixed-use development with residential facilities, 21,157 m² housing of high density, 67,005 m² of medium and 23,078 m² of medium to low density. (Provincial Government of the Western Cape, 2010, pp. 7-8). The 2,790 units are furthermore designed for tenant or end use requirements and will hence be of mixed tenure consisting social subsidised rental housing, open market rental units, open market GAP units as well as bonded affordable housing units (Provincial Government of the Western Cape, 2010, pp. 10-11). Except for social housing, the development thus tries to cater for a wider range of users by providing student accommodation and meeting the high demand of housing within the neighbourhood (Steenkamp, 03-10-2012).

Parking requirements applied for the residential development are only 0.5 bays per unit, in contrast to 1 bay per unit in the first phase, which amounts to 1,396 parking bays (Provincial Government of the Western Cape, 2010, p. 12). This is deemed to be adequate since vehicle ownership will be fairly low when developing social housing and student accommodation. Furthermore, taking into consideration the public transport services such as the Unibell station, the adjacent taxi rank and bus stops, it gives reason to believe that public transport will be the dominant mode of transport.

The masterplan of the second phase evolved through an integrated planning process and hence changed over time (Provincial Government of the Western Cape, 2010, p. 5). The final plan has been structured to create a ‘sense of arrival’ strengthening the safe character of the natural flow of pedestrian movement along the activity routes on which the site is allocated (Strategic Environmental Focus, 2012, p. 13). As such the current masterplan still uses the principle of a boulevard running in straight line from the station to Erica Drive. Furthermore, it does not propose a strong traffic and motorised boulevard but, in believing that public transport will be the dominant mode of transport, the design proposes a lower level of motorised traffic and a stronger focus on pedestrian movement (Provincial Government of the Western Cape, 2010, p. 5).

Furthermore, efforts have been made to design something of aesthetic value which might get people to appreciate their environment, stimulating a culture of living outside and enhancing social interaction. Consequently, the design includes open spaces, parks and courtyards and furthermore also focuses on visibility in order to create secure spaces. Above all, where the first version of the masterplan also proposed a direct visual corridor from...
the station and boulevard to the retail centre, the final design therefore created a less direct corridor to the retail centre integrating the residential and commercial functions in a coherent and sustainable urban environment enabling also informal trading areas (Steenkamp, 03-10-2012). The design principles used by the architect furthermore endeavoured to encourage a higher degree of user interactions developing the commercial en retail complex with a frontage of Symphony Way and Erica Drive (Strategic Environmental Focus, 2012, p. 4).

Finally, because the new residential units will be bordering the existing extension 17 which has a higher socio-economic status, the new development is further attuned to that. According to Calgro M3, the placement of flats next to the existing housing stock, would jeopardize people's property values. Hence, the residential component will range from free standing houses in the direct environment of extension 17, to higher densifications further away from it.

Remarks

In general the discussed new development plans must be considered a major opportunity for the Belhar area as a whole. However, since the phase one development is being carried out as a private residential enclave enhancing no cohesion with its direct environment, one could doubt whether it will have a positive influence on the neighbourhood. In addition, concerning the second phase of the development, it is questionable to what extend this project will succeed in addressing the local need of job opportunities as it intends to do. After all, within the EIA it is clearly pointed out that the number of permanent new employment opportunities is up until today unknown (Provincial Government of the Western Cape, 2010, p. 30). Furthermore recognising that also students of UWC will be of great importance to the success rate of the project, no extra pedestrianised entrance points between campus and the CBD precinct are planned. Plans for such an extra entrance were already made by UWC in 1989 and the necessity today is also mentioned within the Tygerberg District Plan (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 25 & 47). Furthermore, as ‘engaged’ university, UWC also has communicated its ambition to invest in the Belhar CBD, in particular in the provision of sports facilities. It is hence regrettable that UWC was not part of the planning process of this precinct from the beginning and as such could have made a greater imprint on the design. Since the development of the CBD precinct will be of great importance in the near future of Belhar, this project and the concerns related to it, will be further discussed in the third chapter of this master dissertation.

30. Besides the existing entrance at Unibell Station.

31. Further called the ‘Transnet site’ or ‘site’.

32. Transnet Freight Rail is one of the largest business units of ‘Transnet’, a South African rail, port and pipeline company (Transnet, 2013).

TRANSNET

The Transnet Marshalling Yard \(^{31}\) comprises an area of approximately 233ha and was historically used as diesel depot and civil maintenance department (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 16). Today Transnet Freight Rail\(^{32}\), offering rail and terminal services, is active on the site. The Transnet site as such plays a major role within the citywide context as an important hub of transshipment for break-bulk rail-based-freight goods to road-based freight. Conversely, the precinct is also the central hub of Transnet operations where goods from a number of sources are consolidated and transferred onto rail to the Cape Town port or to Johannesburg (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 16).

Being planned during apartheid as industrial buffer between the formerly White area of Bellville and Coloured area around UWC, the site lacks an interface with its direct surroundings preventing it to establish itself as an integrated urban network (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 16). In the north, access to and from the south of Bellville Station is prohibited which stifles economic development further south of Voortrekker Road. In the east and south of the precinct the Modderdam Road barrier prevents further interaction with its surrounding residential areas while in the west a fence prevents contact.

Yet, being located on a central spot in the Cape Metropolitan Area, on the convergence of a number of significant routes, including the Voortrekker Road, Modderdam Road, Symphony Way and two railway lines running from Cape Town over Monte Vista or Mutual to Bellville, the Transnet site can be considered as a strategically located area (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 138). As it is also presently underutilised and equal in scale to the Cape Town city centre, the area hence offers a huge potential for change and the redevelopment of the area as a whole (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 28 & 138).

As such UWC, the before mentioned ‘engaged’ university, has made a proposition to develop the site as an area of mixed use development. This project would not only expand the campuses of the existing educational institutions but would also create a sustainable and integrated environment where people of the surrounding area could live, work and learn (UWC, 2010, p. 49). Together with the upgrade of the Belville CBD, which will be discussed further in the narrative, and the before mentioned future north-south link, Belhar CBD development and expansion plans of the CTIA industrial precinct, it could possibly be an opportunity to break through the apartheid-imposed spatial structures that separate people in the periphery
from amenities in the city (DHK Urban concepts, p. 4). Establishing this redevelopment of the Transnet site would enable the people in the Belhar area to break with their disadvantaged position, away from the city centre (UWC, 2010, p. 49).

However, up until today Transnet has exhibited a reluctance to relinquish control of the property. Due to its strong linkage with the Cape Town port it further wishes to develop its urban consolidation centre and rail uses on the Transnet site, including a major shipping container depot (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 28 & 16). However, within the Tygerberg District Plan the appropriate sections abutting Modderdam North Road are proposed for mixed use intensification which could be a start of the overall redevelopment of the site (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 28).

Transnet proposal UWC

The in 2009 launched proposal for the Transnet site identified five key elements that would make up a vibrant sub-regional centre. First of all, as the Bellville station is the key activity and transport anchor at the north end of the development, the opportunity to expand the medical and dental specialties of the existing Stellenbosch/UWC Health Campus is acknowledged. Secondly, in its wish to incorporate the existing urban fabric south of Voortrekker Road an expansion of the Bellville city centre is planned, including the accommodation of business, retail and residential opportunities. As UWC is also looking to expand their campus, a premier science park is proposed. This proposed science park would offer a platform for educational and research activities, possibly in coexistence with neighbouring institutions including the University of Stellenbosch and CPUT. Furthermore, as it is within close proximity to a major transport interchange and both employment and education are provisioned, the project also embodies a large number of residential opportunities. As this residential precinct is positioned on the eastern side, it above all links the adjacent residential areas, hence contributing to a future integrated urban network. And finally, making up the spatial integration between the university precincts and the existing and proposed urban fabric, a north-south axis throughout the precinct is proposed, consisting of a 24/7 safe pedestrianised activity spine which further gives way to a green belt and urban park in the south.

COMMERCIAL CORRIDOR OF VOORTREKKER ROAD AND THE VRCID

Because the Cape Town municipal government was led by progressives, Cape Town became a politically divided town when in 1948 the Nationalist Party came into power in the national government (Davidson, 04-10-2012). The Cape Town side of Cape Town was English, voting for the United Party while the southern suburbs were conservative Afrikaners voting for the Nationalist Party. As such, knowing that their voters were treated as second class citizens, the Afrikaner led national government created Bellville, a 2nd CBD in the Cape Metropolitan Area, opposed to that ugly integrated Cape Town (Davidson, 04-10-2012). In doing this they also moved both the head offices of the Eskom state-company, providing the country with electricity, and the Afrikaner financial services company of Sanlam to Voortrekker Road in Bellville.

Today Bellville, as planned, is indeed the 2nd CBD of the Cape Metropolitan Area (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 16). In close range of Belhar, only 4km north of it, the formerly white Afrikaner area is divided in two by the N1. The area north of the N1 and flanked by the mere white area of Durbanville and houses amongst other things the Business School of the Afrikaans-speaking University, headquarters of both Die Burger and Vodacom and posh BMW and Renault garages. Furthermore, also the upmarket Tyger Valley Shopping Centre, having a shopping area of 90,000m², lies within this area (Tyger Valley Mall, 2013). This typical exclusive retail heterotopia only serves the affluent minority of the population while in contrast the corridor of Voortrekker Road south of the N1 attracts primarily lower-income (and non-white) consumers with an emphasis on value for money (Turko, 2001, p. 2360 & 2361). As such, although it is situated within the 2nd CBD and although it has its own clientele, the corridor of Voortrekker Road aligning small commercial and semi-industrial businesses is not the dynamic retail area as for example Tyger Valley is where people meet, take a stroll, aligning small commercial and semi-industrial businesses is not the dynamic retail area as for example Tyger Valley is where people meet, take a stroll,
or come over for lunch. Indeed it are the regional shopping complexes such as the TygerValley Shopping Centre which generate a gigantic pull-effect of economic investigation, pushing it away from the urban fabric and hence deteriorating the liveliness of the real urban space (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 53). A newspaper article of August 4th of 2011, rephrases this as ‘for some people, Bellville is just another Central Business District of Cape Town. But the reality is that it feels much different from other bustling shopping zones in the mother city’ (Welcome to Cape Town’s ‘little Mogadishu’, n.d., Cii News). This statement is furthermore supported by the Tygerberg District Plan as they point out that more than 50% of the district, predominantly south of Voortrekker Road, suffers from a significant lack of areas where people are able to spend time on recreational activities.

Being the closest to and attracting consumers from within Belhar, Voortrekker Road is the part of Bellville which is the most connected to the Belhar neighbourhood, both functionally and physically. Since in 2012 the area became the scene of a new City Improvement District (CID), it hence should be seen as a future developmental advantage for Belhar. After all, this Voortrekker Road City Improvement District (VRCID) hopes to attract new business and retail investments which accordingly will stimulate Voortrekker Road, and to a further extend will stimulate the whole of Bellville, to become a more vibrant 2nd CBD of Cape Town. Combined with the before mentioned future north-south link, Belhar in future should be able to benefit from this new economic development.

CID’s and the VRCID

Business Improvement Districts (BIDs), in South Africa referred to as City Improvement Districts (CID)36, are non-profit private local organisations providing the shortage of neighbourhood-specific services which the market or government failed to deliver, be it security maintenance, street cleaning or various forms of marketing (Ellen, Schwartz & Voici, 2007, p. 3). The financial resources of such CID’s are levied on all merchants and firms within the CID boundaries (Bock, 31-08-2012). As these taxes are surplus fees a CID is hence only formed when property owners in a particular neighbourhood agree, by majority vote, to levy these additional tax on themselves (Ellen, Schwartz & Voici, 2007, p. 1). As such, when more than 50% of the property owners vote in favour of the CID, every owner within the CID boundaries, regardless of their initial support for the formation of the CID, is obligated to pay these taxes (Bock, 31-08-2012).

In trying to counter the long-term economic decline of the demarcated city district, a CID in essence will implement a micro urban redevelopment strategy. To improve, for example, the real or perceived unsafety of a neighbourhood in order to attract new investments, informal public parking systems are being eliminated in favour of formalised parking attendants and privatised management (Mirafiab, 2012, p. 15). Furthermore concentrating on the cleaning and removal of unwanted elements in the area, the main goal of CID’s is hence to step away from the ‘broken-glass syndrome’37 to be able to attract new economic investments (Bock, 31-08-2012). In a consequence CID’s always consist of both a strategic and practical cell wherein the practical cell is responsible for the implementation of safety regulations and the cleaning of the area while the strategic cell brings in the new investments. For CID’s as such, the attraction of money at the core business (Bock, 31-08-2012). Hence, providing public services in order to attract economic investments, CID’s are run like a business relying on already existing economic potential but independent from the government in their daily running. This as such, according to Bock38 (31-08-2012), explains their effectiveness.

The first CID was implemented in the 1970s in Toronto. Yet, the concept of the CID quickly reached the United States being strongly promoted by Rudy Giuliani, mayor of New York City (Miraftab, 2012, p. 13). In 2007 there were worldwide already 800 CID’s, of which half of them were located in the United States (Ellen, Schwartz & Voici, 2007, p. 1). In South Africa the first CID was established in 2000 in the city centre of Cape Town (Bock, 31-08-2012, p. 11). As it proved to be very successful, it has since been implemented in several areas within the greater Cape Town region. Be it (financially) supported by large companies as Samlan and Vodacom, on August 1st of 2012 the Voortrekker Road City Improvement District (VRCID) was also established39. One week after the implementation already 140 trash bags were gathered and the day and night safety patrol was clearly visible in the streets. Furthermore the proposal to formalise a parking lot of 350 places was submitted (Bock, 31-08-2012). This 8km long CID, the largest in Cape Town, as such hopes to attract new business and retail investments which would stimulate Voortrekker Road, and as such the whole of Bellville, to become a more qualitative, busy and lively 2nd CBD of Cape Town.

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Nevertheless, although these CID’s prove to be successful all over the world, one should also be aware of the unavoidable downside of the concept, better known as the ‘ripple-effect’. As was explained by Bock38 (31-08-2012)

35. Within this master dissertation the term ‘City Improvement District’ will be used.

36. Not maintained, damaged urban landscapes, which often start off with broken windows, enhance the further degradation of the area. This effect is hence defined as the ‘broken-glass syndrome’ (Bock, 31-08-2012).

37. CEO of the Voortrekker Road City Improvement District (VRCID).

38. Companies as Sanlam and Vodacom, which not only pay the additional taxes but also invest in the VRCID, in addition they not only benefit from the improved environment but also receive financial benefits in terms of tax reduction as their money is invested in the community (Bock, 31-08-2012).

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The Belhar population age pyramid, derived from the census date of 2011, follows a rather pyramid shaped form revealing both a high birth and mortality rate typical for a poorer population in precarious living conditions and with little access to health facilities. These numbers as such show a high proportion of 25.5% of dependent people in Belhar, 14 years old or younger, and a percentage of 34.7 under 20. As the narrative ‘divided neighbourhood’ showed a difference in socio-economic standards throughout the whole Belhar area, in tracing down the average age numbers of the poorest extensions 10 to 13 this large proportion of young people within the population even augments to 29.6% being younger than 15 years old and 38.9% being under 20. Compared to the situation in Ghent in 2011, only 21.1% was aged younger than 20 (Stad Gent, 2013). The Tygerberg District Plan as such also addresses this significant young population stating that areas in the south-east of the district such as Delft and Belhar have a far higher proportion of young dependent members of the population than other areas within the district (City of Cape Town, 2011, p. 23).

With regard to the Belhar population, which consists of 53,234 people in total according to the Census data of 2011, previous narratives always emphasised the issues of mass unemployment and a lack of education. Although the above mentioned higher amount of young people in Belhar is associated with low socio-economic standards, there are also positive elements related to this. After all, together with possible future development as discussed in the previous narrative ‘web of opportunities’, this pool of young potential work force and human capital can be viewed as a pool of opportunity for Belhar if investments in training and education for this segment of society are provided.
As mentioned in the first chapter of this master dissertation, during apartheid, Belhar encountered a massive inflow of both relocated Coloured Capetonians and new rural migrants from small towns and rural areas in what was then the Cape Province. As all these new residents were obliged to build up a new social life within the Belhar area, the establishment of the Belhar ‘community’ was hence an enormous challenge and was accompanied with the necessary stress. On top of that, as according to Standing (2006, p. 13) the mixture between the urbanised Capetonians and the new wave of rural migrants often caused tensions between both groups, in forming the new Belhar community mistrust was also clearly present.

As a consequence, under the apartheid regime of Verwoerd, the Department of ‘Community Development’ was given the authority to build the apartheid New Towns. In using this term Verwoerd emphasised the construction of healthy communities and not only on the provision of housing (Standing, 2006, p. 5). Though, as discussed in the previous narratives ‘inferior dormitory neighbourhood’, ‘divided neighbourhood’ and ‘breeding ground for social problems and crime’, it is clear that the idealised ambitions of the Department of ‘Community Development’ did not succeed as such.

As Belhar today has a significant amount of governmental rental stock, it is anno 2013 still a point of arrival for people all over Cape Town. Although not forcibly removed, as these people due to the everlasting housing shortage are not allowed to choose the area where they will get a house assigned by the government, the new inhabitants of Belhar still are often living far away from friends and family in their previous place of residence.

Consequently, whereas during apartheid notions of community life and the building of social networks were not established through the formalised institutions, current governmental practices are still not encouraging Belhar community life. As will be explained in the following paragraphs, during apartheid and even today community life in these peripheral New Towns emerges from within existing social structures. The extended family together with religion and the social network related to this will be considered the key elements and foundation of a well-functioning community. When looking at the social problems that are present in Belhar family and religion will furthermore be important features that can form a counterforce to these problems and therefore should be taken into account when looking for solutions.
8. FAITH AND FAMILY

As explained in the previous narrative 'inferior dormitory neighbourhood', Belhar residents have more or less 17 different religions which leads to 34 church-buildings, of which most are related to the Christian belief, and furthermore harbours two mosques. According to Pienaar (04-09-2012), in general Christians and Muslims are relatively tolerant towards each other. It was furthermore also understood that people easily convert to a different religion, especially after marriage and within Christian churches (Smith, 01-09-2012).

Given that people in South Africa are religious, and religion is deeply rooted within all ethnic groups and social classes, this seems to be an important binding factor within the social fabric of all South African communities. Hence as many of the families in the Belhar neighbourhood, during apartheid or even today, did not have any social network or social connections upon arrival, religion as such played and still plays a crucial role in the formation of new social networks.

According to ward councillor Jaftha (04-09-2012), it is their belief which gets people actively involved in community life. In Belhar today religion functions as a social body that provides the framework in which people can find support. Up until today it is furthermore a place for social gathering for youths as they join a committee or the church choir or are involved in some kind of programme or activity supported by their church. Even though society is often scattered, the common binding factor as such remains religion, albeit in very different forms or types.

**Thanksgiving at the New Apostolic Church**

September 30th of 2012, after Thanksgiving mass, the youth choir of the Belhar New Apostolic Church made a round through the neighbourhood in order to reach out to the old people and people in ill-health that were physically not able to make it to church. In this particular case, the choir performed a private ‘salon’ concert in the living room of an elderly couple.

Besides their role as binding factor among community members, religion and faith also function as a ‘beacon of hope’ in a society where social problems are thriving. Especially in an area such as Belhar, where acts of violence and crime are the order of the day, for those whose lives are not free of trouble, religion provides the people with some form of comfort. As for this ‘beacon of hope’, churches often also function as a platform to initiate bottom-up initiatives to counter social problems and crime. As a reaction to the on-going acts of violence by street gangs, in September 2012 one of the churches in Belhar organised a ‘march against violence’ through the streets of Belhar in order to form a united front against gangsterism.

**Jacobus Jaftha, social worker**

As a social worker in Belhar, Jacobus Jaftha is confronted with problems related to crime, gangsterism, drug abuse and domestic violence, on a daily basis. For this reason he is pointing out the importance of faith to him and to society as a whole. For Jacobus Jaftha, everything starts with faith. Faith gives people hope, comfort and a sense of belonging: ‘If you do not have faith, where do you start?’ In order to point out the comforting role of faith for people who are in distress, his office is decorated with posters such as shown on the left (Jaftha J., 12-09-2012).

**Family**

The lack of stable family structures, which in Belhar is caused by high divorce rates and a large number of single mothers, is furthermore also often the cause of many social problems. Besides religion, family as such is also one of the fundamental elements of society. Hence, within Belhar ‘family’ is often more than the core-nuclear household. Although this can cause stress among family members, the presence of family within close range, such as aunts and uncles, is of great importance as they tend to help each other as much as possible, both financially and socially (Local resident 1, group housing extension 3, 19-09-2012). For this reason, households are frequently consisting of parents, grandparents, children in law and grandchildren living together in one house.

**Betty Adams, safety mother**

Another account of the importance of family is given by Betty Adams, a woman who lives in the flats in extension 3 and is working as a ‘safety mother’. As they are in need of a family to live with, she has taken on the task to take care of children who are being abused by their parents or that have been abandoned by their families. Although she is a single mother herself, she addresses the need for children to be able to grow up in a safe environment arguing that the loss of family means a loss of guidance for this children (Adams, 28-09-2012).
9. COOPERATING COMMUNITY

As was pointed out in the previous narrative ‘faith and family, a social network’, attempts of the apartheid governmental institutions to create ‘healthy’ communities with modern amenities failed to a large extend. As a result, Belhar today is an introvert and inferior dormitory neighbourhood with large contrasts in socio-economic status, social mobility, social problems and crime. In spite of this, there have been several attempts to cooperate and join forces to spread out something meaningful for the Belhar community.

The organisation of the community occurs in cooperation with the police, the state, several community fora and furthermore, where the government fails to intervene, through bottom-up initiatives of the local community itself. By teaming-up, social problems are hence tackled more effectively and a framework is provided to support vulnerable groups within society.

COOPERATION BETWEEN COMMUNITY AND POLICE

Considering the problems related to crime, police reaches out to the community in order to join forces. As such, together with the police units the people of Belhar have started to organise themselves in so called ‘neighbourhood watches’ that consist of organised voluntary patrols. Today extensions 6 and 7 are the most active and even have a Facebook profile. As they respond to the capacity problem of the local police forces and prevent crime by increasing social control, these neighbourhood watches are considered to be a valuable asset of the community (SAPS community meeting, 19-09-2012). In Old Belhar, in addition, every household therefore also pays R50 per month to cover up the expenses made by the patrollers (Engel, 01-09-2012).

Another aspect of the involvement of the Belhar police force within the community is their focus on the children of Belhar as these are the basis of society but are also the most receptive when it comes to crime. For that reason the police organise information sessions during school-years and events during holidays. By doing so they try to create awareness for the dangers of crime and gangsterism and try to set a good example (SAPS community meeting, 19-09-2012).

As an additional service to the police station, a Victim’s Support Unit was set up where people get counselling after being a victim of crime or where people can go for advice concerning matters of drug abuse, child raising or divorce. In a partnership between the Belhar community workers and interns from UWC, both social workers and students of the legal-aid clinic, attended to people’s problems (Jaftha J., 12-09-2012).

In order to stay involved and to be aware of the problems in the community, the police furthermore organise meetings in which people can give their opinion about the current situation in Belhar. Within Belhar, the police force also appointed one person in particular to maintain close contacts with the residents.

COOPERATION BETWEEN COMMUNITY AND STATE

Besides the involvement of the police, community meetings of local politicians and their local initiatives furthermore provide the Belhar residents with the necessary guidance. As one of the major social problems among youths is the high level of unwanted or unplanned pregnancies, as commissioned by ward councillor Jaftha (12-09-2012), programs have been set up to support young people in family planning and their use of anti-conception. In addition, as youths often lack support and stimulation at home or are unaware of the possibilities to improve their life, consultation is also offered with regard to one’s personal career or study track.

COMMUNITY FORA

In order to organise the community in a more formal way, a system of community fora has furthermore been set up to provide a platform through which communication and interaction with the community can be established. At presence there is a police forum, a health forum, a pastors forum and a principals forum. At the meetings organised by these different fora, concerns from within the community can be raised.

COMMUNITY INITIATIVES

When looking at the need of the people of Belhar, there are things that cannot be provided by the state or police alone. In order to be less dependent from public authorities, especially when funds and capacities are low, it is as such important for a community to take matters in their own hands and organise themselves by means of local bottom-up initiatives. As it is impossible to sum up all these initiatives, three prime examples will be discussed in the next paragraphs.

As was pointed out in the narrative ‘divided neighbourhood’, today one of the biggest problems in the New Belhar area is the huge amount of unemployed people. As such, one of the most important bottom-up initiatives in the Belhar neighbourhood is the organisation of a job creation
programme where unemployed women from the poorer New Belhar area get training in the fabrication of clothing. After acquiring these competences their prospects of finding a job increase, whilst in addition it gives them also the opportunity to meet and expand their social network (Jaftha W.D., 04-09-2012).

Furthermore, as pointed out in the narrative ‘inferior dormitory neighbourhood’, Belhar today lacks the presence of old age homes and other services focused on elderly. Consequently, senior citizens of the Belhar neighbourhood organised themselves in several ‘senior clubs’ of which the Belhar Golden Lion Senior Club is one example. Located in the same building of the maternity clinic, elderly here gather for choir practice, workshops and gardening. For the elderly of Belhar, meeting each other through this senior club is very meaningful as it broadens the social network upon which they can depend when extra help or assistance is needed. Furthermore as they also sew clothing for the poorest in the area or distribute leftovers from supermarkets these active seniors as such also contribute to the community as a whole.

Likewise, due to the lack of recreational facilities, the narrative ‘breeding ground for social problems and crime’ already pointed out that as youths often hang out on the streets, having no valuable future prospects, they are easily influenced by gangsterism and crime. Initiatives such as the Belhar Brass Band, operating from a person’s home in the flats on Chestnut Way, therefore were established in order to keep those youths occupied and set a good example. As this is a well-working example, today they even attract children from outside of Belhar.

In the case of Belhar, these local initiatives are hence valuable assets serving groups of people that are in need of extra care. Through this kind of organisations, the community as such strengthens itself from within, in spite of being dependent of governmental help and hence establish a joint counterforce against common problems such as violence, gangsterism, poverty and unemployment.

According to Turok (2001, p. 2370), the four most important structural elements of cities and neighbourhoods are employment opportunities, housing and facilities or good transport connections between them. For Turok they are the critical resources for people as access to them has a large effect on their living standards. The narratives of the ‘introvert cell’, the ‘inferior dormitory neighbourhood’ and ‘physical and social immobility’ thus taught us that Belhar has none of these four critical resources. The poor social and socio-economic conditions explained in ‘divided neighbourhood’ and ‘breeding ground for crime and social problems’ are as such not surprising. In a consequence, although also positive elements can be found in the narratives of this chapter, due to their low impact we are still be able to conclude that Belhar is no exception in the above mentioned statement of the Development and Planning Commission of 1999.

Furthermore, again referring to these overcrowded, socially instable and impoverished dormitory neighbourhoods of which the contemporary Belhar is an example, Turok (2001, p.2349) also states that they still contrast with the affluent suburbs, such as for example the before mentioned Durbanville, or prosperous economic centres as the northern part of the Bellville CBD, offering rich opportunities of all kinds.

As such, in bringing these conclusions together we can state that despite the political turn and the elimination of racial separation, segregation still exists. Today post-apartheid is thus solely an illusion while postapartheid is reality and indeed the correct term to use, emphasizing the continuing discrimination of the historical disadvantaged non-White population living in the periphery of the postapartheid city.
NEW STRATEGIES TOWARDS A POST-APARTHEID SPACE

Chapter 3
INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, describing the contemporary spatial, social and socio-economic outcome of the apartheid planning ideologies discussed in the first chapter, it became clear that to a large extent postapartheid is the reality of today. In trying to combat and defeat this continuing discrimination of the primarily non-White population living in the periphery of the postapartheid city, in this final chapter of this master dissertation we will try to formulate new ways of thinking about planning and developing such a as exemplified by Belhar.

Yet, to be able to re-imagine this continuing segregation, a deeper understanding of the power relations and main problem behind the production of postapartheid space is crucial. As such, this necessitates in a decoding of the discourses by which Belhar currently is being influenced which will hence be done in the following paragraphs. Using our knowledge gathered in the first two chapters of this master dissertation, we will as such further address that these forces will be a combination of both a geographical imbalance of private investment and the inability of the government to turn this inequality around.

INVESTMENT IMBALANCE

According to Turok (2001, p. 2349), the general implication is that after apartheid income, social class and market forces have replaced race and state control in directing the pattern of urban development. As today financial investment institutions have become more cautious in supporting new projects and even more conservative in their attitudes towards marginal and unproven locations, private-sector investment and jobs opportunities continue to be concentrated in the affluent north and west of the Capetonian postapartheid city while the poor south-east periphery, including the Belhar neighbourhood, remains essentially a dormitory area with few signs of major private investment (Turok, 2001, p. 2349).

Trying to unravel this investment imbalance, following section will review the factors which determine the marginal investment position of the Belhar neighbourhood, exemplifying the periphery of postapartheid Cape Town. As will be illustrated, most of these mediocre investment conditions are a consequence of the everlasting effect of the apartheid planning ideologies on the present-day space in which the people in the periphery are still forced to dwell. It is as such no surprise that following paragraphs will often refer to the first and second chapter of this master dissertation.

Fragmentation by the Group Areas Act

Due to the implementation of the Group Areas Act and the associated buffer zones, as explained in the first chapter, the area around the Belhar neighbourhood is first of all completely fragmented. This as such hampers it to establish itself as one cohesive urban network which, as already partially explained in the narrative ‘central spot in a web of opportunities’, is one of the most important factors determining the marginal investment position of Belhar and the Cape Town periphery as a whole. Currently, the market concentration necessary to generate vibrant local economies does not exist as large distances between residential areas and low densities ensure that distributional costs form an inordinately high proportion of total costs in the cost structures of most businesses (UPRU, 1990 p. XI, XII).

Hidden alienation between Black and Coloured

As explained in the first chapter, by implementing the Group Areas Act, the apartheid regime prevented all racial groups of integrating with each other. Since the situation as described below was not the only time we experienced Coloured people expressing their anxiety against Blacks, we hence can conclude that today the apartheid ideologies still have a negative impact on the cohesion of people living in the Cape Flats which again does not facilitate the future investor confidence.

Black versus Coloured in Belhar

‘The big problem here in Belhar is Delft [...]. They got no public transport system, so everybody walks from Delft to the railway stations (in Belhar) [...]. You witnessed that as well, when we stopped those blacks in the park and we said ‘Where do you live?’ and they said ‘We live in Delft, we’re walking through the area.’ [...] You see, it gets negativity in the area. [...]’

(Belhar resident talking about the opportunities that new commercial developments could bring to the Belhar neighbourhood)

Hijacked modernist planning ideals

As explained in the second chapter, modernist planning ideas that were developed elsewhere in the world were implemented in the Cape Town apartheid city and hence moreover also in the Belhar neighbourhood. Yet as these ideas were generated in response to very different contextual realities, the rhetoric surrounding these modernist planning ideas has
frequently been hijacked which is why, after reading the narratives of the second chapter, it is as if the modernist space of the Belhar New Town conceived under apartheid is not liveable and economically viable (Murray, 2011, p. 19-20). Social engineering hence killed the market as the cellular spatial structure and separation of land uses created by limited access roads, rail lines and inwardly focused neighbourhood cells, as explained in the narratives ‘introvert cell’ and ‘inferior dormitory neighbourhood’, limits economic business opportunities (City of Cape Town, 2011, p. 53).

Lack of basic infrastructure, both bulk and road infrastructure

Since the urban network of the Cape Flats periphery between Bellville and Khayelitsha is completely fragmented and does not contain the necessary threshold to provide all facilities in all communities, the area will presumptively evolve towards a network of complementary neighbourhoods. Hence, a well maintained and proper organised road infrastructure network will be a requirement for urban development as it will enable the necessary movement of people, supplies and goods. Yet up until today, due to the radial transportation structure implemented during apartheid, a road link between Bellville in the north and Khayelitsha in the south, passing Belhar, is not supported by compatible road infrastructure means or a well-organised IRT-system. This current lack as such again compounds the lack of investment opportunities (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 15).

New developments in the area are furthermore often delayed or hindered due to technical problems. Since the region was not a priority area during apartheid, it lacks the necessary well-maintained or well established area-covering bulk infrastructure such as water supply, roads, sanitation measures, electricity supply and IT. This hence prevents or is slowing down development because not only the concept and design of development is of importance within redevelopment, also a lot of time and money needs to be spent on the provision of infrastructure (Steenkamp, 03-10-2012).

Socio-economic conditions

Furthermore, due to the low income standards and hence unstable and unpredictable consumer markets, the area around Belhar attracts only few retailing and consumer services of established investors (Tuork, 2001, p. 2362-2363). Above all, as the narrative ‘divided neighbourhood’ also illustrated, skills and qualifications are relatively poor in the Belhar neighbourhood and in the whole of the Cape Flats (Tuork, 2001, p. 2366). As high-skilled households hence primarily can be found in the northern and southern suburbs, firms employing these high skilled people located there in order to reduce the time and cost of commuting (Tuork, 2001, p. 2362-2363). This is why today firms are reluctant to move or open branches in the Belhar surroundings whereas at the same time the demand from local businesses for premises in the area of the Cape Flats is limited (Tuork, 2001, p. 2366).

Social and physical environment

As can be read in the narrative ‘breeding ground for social problems and crime’, in and around the Belhar neighbourhood social and crime-related problems are part of everyday life. As they create doubtful investments conditions, according to Tuork (2001, p. 2367), some investors admit that they avoid the whole area of the Cape Flats on the grounds that development there requires specialised knowledge and skills. Furthermore, the narrative ‘breeding ground for social problems and crime’ also highlights the poor quality of the physical environment and visual edges which again does not create the most ideal and attractive investment conditions.

INABILITY OF THE AUTHORITIES TO REALISE A WELL-BALANCED URBAN DEVELOPMENT

As discussed before, after the political turn in 1996 a neoliberal market strategy dominated the pattern of urban development which due to an imbalance in quality of investment conditions also led to a complete investment imbalance in the whole of Cape Town, which consequently excluded the historical disadvantaged areas in the periphery.

Therefore, in trying to create a more equitable, well-balanced and sustainable future for the whole of Cape Town, both national and local authority levels agreed on the need for urban integration and restructuring of the fragmented urban system (Tuork, 2001, p. 2354). Hence in 2012 the Cape Town Spatial Development Framework (CTSDF), the coordinating component of the 2012-2017 Integrated Development Plan (IDP), was approved. The following 20 years this framework will guide the spatial form and structure of the Cape Town Metropolitan Area following foremost the urban strategy of an integrated approach to land use planning, economic development and transport operations (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 10). The before mentioned 2011 Tygerberg District Plan, encompassing the Belhar area, is one example of this.
Yet, despite their ambitions, the implementation of this integrated approach up until today has not been achieved (Turok, 2001, p. 2370). As both the CTSDF and the Tygerberg District Plan do not have the authority of an approved statutory plan to regulate private and public investment, local politicians have never been restricted by explicit criteria (Turok, 2001, p. 2364-2366). As they furthermore have been too burdened with day-to-day problems of their communities or confronted with the problem of ‘multiple ownership’, they have hence been hindered to support suggested strategic projects working towards an integrated, well-balanced city. Examples of these day-to-day problems and their consequences as well as the problem of ‘multiple ownership’ will be discussed in the next paragraphs.

### Day-to-day problems

Priorities according to ward councillor Jaftha

There are councillors who don’t consider the housing need as such a priority as I do. I get my information directly from the communities. This is my second term now, so I know their needs and I cannot do anything else then address to those needs. If I do something else the people will get mad and say: ‘Why don’t you do this if you know our needs?’. The cry is housing and facilities. That is what they want. You should see the people staying in the backyards in the shacks. Last month I had to provide them with plastic because their roofs were leaking.’

(Jaftha W.D., 04-09-2012).

Besides the above mentioned poor living conditions in Belhar backyard shacks and the crowded living conditions mentioned in the narrative ‘divided neighbourhood’, answering to this housing deficit areas near Belhar are also being illegally occupied such as for example the informal settlements of Freedom Farm and Malawi Camp, bordering the Belhar area. Furthermore, buildings are illegally occupied by residents. Homeless people lived in the Huguenot Community Hall in Belhar between 2006 and 2009 and until recently in 2012, immigrants from Somalia resided in the former J.S. Marais Hospital in Bellville (Thousands spent on hall, 04-02-2009m TygerBurger).

The quote of Jaftha, councillor of the New Belhar area, in effect summarises to a large extent the day-to-day problems by which local politicians are confronted as the government is indeed not able to cope with the housing need they promised to relief after apartheid. Moreover, the statement of ward councillor Jaftha is also supported by several official documents and research institutions. For example in the Integrated Human Settlements Five-Year Strategic Plan 2012-2017 (City of Cape Town, 2012, p. 3) the City of Cape Town notes a housing backlog of 350,000 households while the Human Science Research Council estimates it between 360,000 and 400,000 at a growing rate of 16,000 to 18,000 units per year (Mongwe, 2013).

This as such explains why local politicians in historical disadvantaged area are mainly focused upon providing housing facilities and amenities. Though, as they want to establish these houses as many, as cheap and as fast as possible, up until today these housing provisions have primarily been a filling of space without vision instead of being integrated spatial projects. As such, according to Turok (2001, p. 2369), concerns have often been expressed in relation to the location, quality, restricted choices and sustainability of the housing developed. The Delft settlement, immediately south of Belhar, can be seen as one example of those poor housing solutions. Being geographically isolated between the D.F. Malan Cape Town International Airport, Stellenbosch Arterial and the N2 and R300 freeway it is furthermore also not served by rail infrastructure and thus has poor access to the public transport network. In spite of these restrictions, when completed, the area of approximately 900ha will comprise 110,000 inhabitants living in impoverished, small RDP housing units’ (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 15).

Furthermore, the backlog in public housing provision is combined with a shortfall in publicly owned land. Consequently, this also necessitates inventiveness of the government in trying to cope with the continuing housing demand which again emphasises its present-day ad hoc planning approach instead of approaching matters in a more integrated manner. The first example of this inventiveness is brought forward by Steenkamp (03-10-2012) who proclaims that at this point the government of the Western Cape is identifying all under-utilised school sites and adjacent sport fields to be able to project them as future residential areas. As second example, the proposed formalisation of the Blikkiesdorp Temporary Relocation Area (TRA) can be put forward. As this area was never intended as a permanent residential area it is as such regrettable it is being formalised as such, considering today its living conditions are very poor since the dwelling units are constructed as abominable corrugated iron shacks2.

To elaborate on this ad hoc approach, in providing new facilities, these often tend to be planned and built independently of each other, resulting in a dispersed spatial pattern rather than reinforcing specific nodes of activity and creating places with a critical mass of related amenities (Turok, 2001, p. 2370). The Belhar Indoor Sport Complex on Proton Road, which was established on the vacant land of extension 8, outside the residential complex of the Belhar area, can be seen as one example of those ‘stand-alone’ public facilities.

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1. RDP or ‘Reconstruction and Development Program’ is an overarching socio-economic policy framework, presented by the ANC after apartheid. Amongst other things this framework also includes the promise to keep up with the provision of public housing as was done during apartheid. Though, due to the high demand and the limited resources, these houses turned out to be very basic and small which hence, as Davidson quotes it (04-10-2012), are ‘the worst housing that was ever built in this country’.

2. Hence the nick name ‘Blikkiesdorp’ which can be paraphrased as ‘in village’.
housing. As the complaint went in the hands of the Minister it was eventually overruled (Pokpas, 30-08-2012). Another example concerns the battle of land on the Transnet area, the key site for a strategic urban development project as proposed by UWC and explained in the narrative of ‘central spot in a web of opportunities’. Although Transnet exhibited a reluctance to relinquish control of the property, today every saleable parcel on this site attracts the attention of UWC as it has expressed its wish to ensure that it would be left available for development other than residential purposes (Pokpas, 30-08-2012).

Multiple ownership

Furthermore, as today local politicians do decide to engage in strategic projects, they often encounter problems of ‘multiple ownership’ of land. As a lot of land in the area is not in possession of the government but is owned by several private owners, difficulties arise when having to compensate all different owners, given the restricted government resources. According to Van Gend (04-10-2012), town planner of the City of Cape Town, this is one of the biggest constraints in implementing the previously discussed north-south road link.

Above all, this focus on public housing and facilities does not only result in poorly integrated residential areas or stand-alone public facilities, it also prohibits local politicians to engage in strategic projects enhancing the necessary integrated approach in trying to cope with the continuing discrimination in the historically disadvantaged area of the Cape Town periphery. It is within this context that battles of land originate, as a competition between housing and every other necessary urban function on every piece of land available for development (Pokpas, 30-08-2012). Clarifying this battle of land can best be done using the striking example of the Pentech site, a hot item during our time of research. This area of approximately 6ha situated just south of CPUT in the north of extension 23 of Belhar, was first zoned for single housing and was later rezoned for double housing. In addition, the government promised to develop the site as RDP housing similar to the housing typologies of the Delft area (Jaftha W.D., 04-09-2012). A number of 360 units in total will be constructed. Because of the lack of vision behind this project, although admitting the necessity for housing, UWC and CPUT formulated a complaint against the proposal, asserting there is a better purpose for the site than to develop it as RDP
A FRAMEWORK FOR NEW STRATEGIES

INTRODUCTION

To be able to re-imagine the neighbourhood of Belhar, a deeper understanding of the power relations behind the production of its postapartheid space is crucial, which was done in the first part of this chapter. As a consequence, this means that at this point of our master dissertation all preliminary research is done and new strategies for the Belhar neighbourhood can be determined. However, before we move on to this, using the lessons learned in the first part of this chapter, a framework for these new ways of thinking, a starting point upon which all strategies will be based, needs to be identified.

REFORMULATION OF PLANNING PRINCIPLES

‘[… ] it is not so much what we do in these spaces that concerns me for now, but how we go about thinking and talking about the space’. (Murray, 2011, p. 20)

Just as explained in the previous part of this chapter, due to its disadvantaged physical and social position Belhar today lacks the necessary private investments. In effect this is hence why, at this point, the neighbourhood remains in essence a postapartheid space with an introvert, dormitory and largely poor urban and social fabric. On top of that, as local politicians, burdened by the day-to-day problems of their communities are not able to implement the well-meaning intentions of the existing Capetonian planning documents¹ to overturn this lack of investment, one should start doubting the effects of the current implemented planning management principles. As such, in order to change the postapartheid Belhar situation to the better, these current management principles and planning practices hence need to be revised and new ways of operating to address the problems of today should be established (Tait et al in Turok, 2001, p. 2370): ‘New priorities need new strategies and new strategies need new structures and mechanisms’.

With regard to this, it must be acknowledged that the success of all developments in any city or neighbourhood is inherently related to the effective assemblage of the diverse agendas of the stakeholders present on the field. Derived from what was explained in the second chapter and first part of this last chapter, as only low quality housing projects and ‘stand-alone’ public facilities are being realised, we believe that this today is the main problem in the Belhar area. As present stakeholders know too little about each other to understand each other’s needs and desires, as a consequence potential synergies, strategic projects and possibilities to overturn investment imbalance in the postapartheid Belhar space are overlooked. The opening up of the debate we think as such will be the first step towards the reformulation of planning ideas and new forms of urban dynamics within the area. Recognising this, in effect easily brings us back to the starting quote of Murray 2011, p. 20): ‘[…] it is not so much what we do in these spaces that concerns me for now, but how we go about thinking and talking about the space’.

The importance to start the debate amongst the key drivers within this area, is also addressed by Pieterse in his work ‘City Futures’. As such, he points out that urban transformation is driven by the identification of systemic drivers of the city who are most likely to generate the kinds of ideas and creativity that will bring change upon the current urban condition (Pieterse, 2008, p. 148). Accordingly, Pieterse introduces the notion of ‘epistemic community’ which suggests that ‘knowledge-generating collectives can be assembled or networked to enable a vigorous exchange of perspectives within a broader shared commitment to find practicable solutions to intractable social and economic problems’ (Pieterse, 2008, p. 148).

STRENGTHENING THE ECONOMIC BASIS IS THE START

The most important structural elements of cities or neighbourhoods are employment, housing and facilities or good transport connections between them. Yet, as discussed in the conclusion of the second chapter, Belhar has none of these four. However, as these elements can be considered the critical resources for a well-working community, they thus will form the focal points to build upon in order to influence the living standards of all Belhar residents.

Up until today, as explained in the narrative ‘physical and social immobility’ in the second chapter, Belhar residents still have to travel long distances in order to get to work in the city centre or other dispersed commercial or industrial areas. As due to a low level of car-ownership most of them are completely dependent on the unreliable and insufficiently organised public transport, this as a consequence lowers their opportunities on the labour market and as such also influences the socio-economic situation of their families in a negative way. Although subsidies are given to transport, according to Turok (2001, p. 2352), this system accordingly still ‘sustain(s) the city’s polarisation and imbalance’.

In effect, the real challenge in re-imagining the Belhar neighbourhood is hence to strengthen the economic basis of the neighbourhood itself by creating activities that generate additional income and jobs, preferably in producing goods and services for wider markets (Turok, 2001, p. 2368). By strengthening its economic basis and generating local jobs, the social upliftment of the neighbourhood can be guaranteed as physical and social immobility will be tackled. With regard to this prospect, referring to the

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¹ In the case of Belhar these are the CTIDF and Tygerberg District Plan.
previous paragraphs, we believe that the consultation of the various agendas of all different stakeholders present in the area will here be essential to increase the chances of success. Furthermore, again referring to the first part of this chapter, within this debate also the anticipation on the future north-south link development and the improvement of current investment climate will be of great importance. Both of these will therefore be discussed below.

**Anticipating on the future north-south link development**

As explained in the previous chapters, since the urban network of the Cape Flats periphery between Bellville and Khayelitsha is completely fragmented and does not contain the necessary threshold to develop all communities into individual entities, the area will supposedly evolve towards a network of complementary neighbourhoods. In accordance, it was furthermore pointed out that in establishing this complementary urban network, the implementation of a well-working north-south road link, passing Belhar, would be crucial as it would enable the necessary movement of people, supply and goods\(^4\).

As the successful implementation of this north-south link is only possible when it is at the same time combined with the necessary complementary pilot projects, in strengthening the economic basis of the Belhar neighbourhood it will as such be essential to anticipate upon this development. In orienting itself within the future urban network of the Cape Flats, one should thus recognise that Belhar has potential strategic sites to develop these complementary pilot projects. As a result, when developing strategies to reverse the continuing disadvantaged position of the Belhar neighbourhood, this pathway will of course be explored.

**Improving current uncertain investment conditions**

Though it is easily noted that in developing new strategies one should anticipate upon the future north-south link development, as long as private investors are not convinced that this area has a great potential for development, nothing will ever get realised. As such, referring again to the first part of this chapter, in order to attract new development the current investment climate needs to be improved. As a safe, pleasant and stable setting is a necessity for development, the stimulation of the social and physical environment herein will be the first step. Furthermore, if private investors want to respond to the potential large labour force of the Belhar area, investment in education will also be crucial. In effect, when developing new strategies for the Belhar neighbourhood, these aspects also need to be taken into account.


**NEW STRATEGIES FOR BELHAR**

In determining new ways of thinking about planning and developing the historical disadvantaged areas of Belhar, three strategies will be proposed. As access to employment, housing and facilities or good transport connections between them are vital in creating a well-working community, these four critical resources therefore will form the key elements throughout each proposed strategy. However, since the strengthening of the economic basis of the Belhar area will enable its residents to become less dependent on governmental support, this as such will be the focal point. Yet again, bearing in mind that ‘density drives provision’, these strategies will also dare to identify a number of strategic locations to encourage the necessary higher residential thresholds.

Furthermore, referring to fact that the combination of all different agendas in the area will determine the success rate of each strategy, preliminary debate between the diverse stakeholders present in the field will therefore also be one of the key points in our approach. With regard to this, given the fact that UWC is Belhar’s neighbour and profiles itself as an ‘engaged’ stakeholder, every strategy will hence discuss UWC’s possible role ranging from ‘the university as driving factor’ to ‘the university as supporting entity’.

In addition, in order to develop or upgrade facilities into ‘vehicles of empowerment’ (Marschall in Marschall & Kearney, 2000, p. 16), the establishment of an extended process of community participation which includes both ‘building for’ and ‘building with’ the Belhar residents will be of utmost importance. Furthermore, according to Marschall (Marschall & Kearney, 2000, p. 18) doing this in total transparency and explaining each step in the development process will eliminate the potential conflict and corruption and help the community comprehend the limitation of funds.

However, as Marschall further mentions (Marschall & Kearney, 2000, p. 20), the way in which a building or development can really become a vehicle for empowerment, is by implementing a participatory process which does not stop at the point of the actual building process but continues its process by hiring local labour and using locally available technology. Considering the Belhar “pool of human capital” and technical knowledge of locals stakeholders as CPUT, this as a consequence should definitely be incorporated in all three strategies suggested in this master dissertation.

Furthermore, with regard to this, Southworth (Pieterse, 2010, p. 107) argues that in order to make such developments and programmes successful in the long run, management and maintenance responsibilities have to be clearly assigned. With the integrity of well-maintained public space and facilities,
As mentioned in the introduction, this first strategy focuses on the Belhar CBD area on extension 8. As this site has direct access to railway facilities (Unibell station) and is located alongside the intersection of the north-south link (Symphony Way) and Erica Drive (east-west movement) it as such attracts both local and supralocal, private and public transportation flows. With regard to this, this CBD area is hence identified as a strategic location for future development and, meeting both the local needs and of those in the wider area, requires a form of intensified exploitation concentrated around what will be a future pilot project of the north-south link.

As discussed more thoroughly in the previous chapters, plans for the development of the Belhar CBD, commissioned by the government to the private developer Calgro M3, are well on their way. Considering the direct link to the railway station, these plans envisage a transit-oriented development which will combine residential development with the creation of a commercial and retail node enhancing the viability and sustainability of the area. Furthermore, the plans suggest a civic upgrade and landscaping of the area and indicate the provision of basic infrastructure for non-motorised transport such as pedestrian walkways from and towards the station.

Although the design of Calgro M3 touches on some crucial elements that will answer Belhar’s day-to-day problems, several remarks to the plan must be made. Illustrated by the fact that a part of the site will be developed as a gated residential unit, in general it must be noted that within its current plans Calgro M3 to some extent creates an urban island that lacks the necessary links with its direct surroundings. As the plan pays little attention to its direct
environment, the potential reciprocal interests of both UWC, bordering the site, and Belhar are hence not been taken into account which is why in the CBD-plans of today both parties are not profiting from the potential opportunities in the best possible way. Furthermore, in order to attract the through traffic necessary to sustain the new economic development, proposals should be made to open up the broader road network of the area. However, up until today this is something which is not been done by Calgro M3. Another remark that can be put to the fore concerns a number of vacant land parcels that are not being incorporated within the plan due to rights of ownership, even though they are physically imbedded within the patchwork of extension 8. As this means that some crucial plots within the urban fabric are being overlooked, this as a consequence undermines the holistic approach of the area.

However, as the ambitions of this developer will most likely be put into practice, this strategy will therefore start from the assumptions made in the design of Calgro M3 and as such will come up with a complementary proposal that builds upon these premises.

GOAL AND METHOD

Starting from the above mentioned starting point, the aim of the first strategy is to reinforce the economic basis of Belhar as a whole by suggesting a local and supralocal urban development on the Belhar CBD area of extension 8.

Starting from the design of Calgro M3, in order to break with the proposed urban island idea and fulfil the wishes of all possible stakeholders and users, local and supralocal, the first two steps before the implementation of such proposals will therefore be the identification of both the key actors and target groups. Stimulating debate amongst them could as such enhance the development of an ambitious project with a vision, addressing both the needs of the Belhar residents and the needs of the broader area and more specifically UWC. Furthermore, in working towards in holistic approach for the complete Belhar CBD area, special attention will also be given to the plots that are currently not included in the Calgro M3 as they are owned by individual landlords.

In terms of implementation, several phases will be proposed, starting with addressing the need for basic interventions in the infrastructure network of the Belhar area in order to create higher standards of accessibility. In a second phase, in proposing fundamental implementations on particular locations, methods are explored to integrate the agendas and wishes of all key stakeholders and target groups. In the third and final phase, when literally opening up the ‘urban island’, fundamental physical connections between the area and its direct surroundings are proposed.

STEP 1: IDENTIFICATION OF THE AGENDAS OF KEY ACTORS

Within this strategy Calgro M3, as private developer commissioned by the government, fulfils the role of initiator of this project. Nonetheless, as brought up before, today their plans lack the necessary link with its direct environment which is why we believe they fail in taking full advantage of the potential of the area. The fact that UWC, bordering the site of development, is in desperate need of accommodation for its student population, for one reason is not (enough) incorporated in Calgro M3’s plans. Accordingly, investing in student accommodation can be of economic value and an additional source of income for the developer. Above all, as today student accommodation in Belhar is primarily exploited by gangsters, investment within this sector would decrease the influence of gangsterism on the property market and would in turn improve overall investment conditions within the area.

Furthermore, as UWC has portrayed itself as an ‘engaged’ university, it both has expressed its desires to expand its activities outside the boundaries of their campus and is in search of possible outreach projects to engage itself with its direct neighbours. Though, referring to the plans of Calgro M3, these possibilities which UWC offers as ‘engaged’ university have also not be taken into consideration. Accordingly, UWC is as such the appropriate actor to turn to and should hence be integrated within this strategy as additional investor and potential fellow agent in urban revival in addition to Calgro M3.

Yet furthermore, as the success rate of this development will depend on whether or not renowned branches such as Spar and Stones will be interested to invest within this programme, they as such should also be identified as key actors on this site.

STEP 2: IDENTIFICATION OF THE WISHES OF ALL TARGET GROUPS

After the identification of the agendas of the private developer and the institute of UWC, their ambitions must be both in line with supralocal needs and those of the community itself. In general, as this project also...
functions which aim at a broader scope, in order to make the whole project a sustainable and economic viable one, a fundamental connection with the higher order roads surrounding the area should be carried out.

Consequently, an extension of Erica Drive towards Belhar Road in Kuilsrivier is proposed, which will facilitate the integration between both communities and will provide a direct link for the people from Kuilsrivier to the UWC campus. Where this missing link crosses the R300 freeway, in addition an exit- an entry-complex is suggested. This in turn will stimulate private and public transport from the south which, via the new link R300 – Erica Drive – Symphony Way, will easily find their way to the UWC campus. As all these new flows pass the intersection of Erica Drive and Symphony Way, the Belhar CBD area will hence become a nodal point in the urban grid exposed to a maximum degree of through traffic.

**IMPLEMENTATION PHASE 1: BASIC INTERVENTIONS IN THE INFRASTRUCTURE NETWORK**

As discussed before, in order to make this market-driven development a successful one, accessibility of the area should be maximised by identifying some of the crucial missing links. Especially as this development provides should win the support of the residents, this means it should aim at the elimination of the dormitory character of Belhar, enhancing the provision of job opportunities, health facilities, education opportunities and the provision of places that can function as meeting places for the community. Other spaces that should be provided for are places for recreation, places to study and safe places for children to interact with each other. However, in order to identify the explicit priorities of the Belhar residents, community meetings and an intensive participatory process is fundamental.

As for the student population within Belhar, it is necessary to provide not only places for accommodation but also necessary to provide supporting facilities such as commercial and recreational functions. When providing student housing, it is of great importance to ensure a safe environment for students. By providing key facilities, such as sporting facilities, study rooms and places of entertainment such as can be found in the food and beverage sector, a contribution can be made towards a safer and more pleasant student environment for both students residing within Belhar and the ones living on campus. This as such will contribute to a more urban and dynamic atmosphere within the area and will reinforce the character of Belhar as a student town.

**IMPLEMENTATION PHASE 2: THE INTEGRATION OF AGENDAS AND WISHES OF KEY STAKEHOLDERS AND TARGET GROUPS**

Bearing in mind the proposed basic infrastructural amendments as discussed in the previous paragraph, the site as a whole will become a well accessible node to which several new developments can be tied to. This as such, in addition to the current plans of Calgro M3, allows us to propose the following developments, which are derived from the agendas and wishes of all key stakeholders and target groups.
Plot 1 and 2

Given its location on the border of Belhar, adjacent to the UWC campus, this plot has been identified as a strategic location for the development of student residences including supporting facilities such as study rooms. Being close to the campus and imbedded within commercial, residential and sports facilities, this site provides the necessary elements for a pleasant student environment.

Plot 3

Adjacent to the former plots, this site has been identified as a place for social activity, be it in the form of a place where students can meet each other and have a public braai. With regard to this, the site has a complementary function to its immediate surroundings including the student residences on plot 1 and 2 and the existing public sports hall of Belhar, located on plot A.

Plot 4

In order to reinforce the character of the area as a student town, this plot in addition is proposed to be developed as a site for student residences. The development must be seen in combination with housing facilities for non-students in order to stimulate the integration of students and non-students within the area. Moreover, will the placement of students on this site also be compatible with the existing student residences for couples on plot B.

Plot 5

A vibrant student town on the Belhar CBD precinct includes nightlife opportunities. Given the fact that UWC campus students today have no bars or café’s nearby these kind of places to go out offer an undiscovered business opportunity. Meeting the demand for places of entertainment within Belhar and keeping in mind the prospective increase in number of students within the area, a discotheque combined with a local bar or cafeteria is proposed on this site.

In addition, since the site is now occupied by the ruins of the BIFSA training centre, research must be done as to explore whether the remnants of this landmarks could be transformed or re-used within this concept. In order to keep noise disturbances to a minimum for new residents in the phase 1 project of Calgro M3, the dancing area should be placed on the backside of the plot whereas the establishment of smaller scale bars could be placed facing the road. Furthermore, related to its highly accessible location along Symphony Way, parking on the site should also be made available for those coming from the broader area.

Good practice: Stones, South Africa

‘A Stones venue is everything that urban nightlife should be – each store offers dynamic DJs and dance floors balanced with a sexy and elegant lounge life and slick, friendly service. Stones regularly hosts top DJs (sic), bands, comedians, and entertainers from across the country and abroad. We also aim to add fabulous value to your nights out through our weekly promotions, theme nights, Isla’s nights, student nights and giveaways. Our extensive schedule of events has something for everyone’. (Stones, 2009)

Rayhas Investments (Pty) Ltd is a Cape Town based national company which operates the Stones Group. The concept has been developed over eighteen years, the result being a well-established franchise opportunity having seven locations in the Western Cape (Claremont, Durbanville, Long Street, Observatory Parow, Stellenbosch and Tygervalley), eight in Gauteng (Bedfordview, Boksburg, Centurion, Creasta, Featherbrooke, Four Ways, Hatfield and Melville) and one along the Garden Route in Mosselbay.

The Stones concept combines dancing, socialising and pool playing in a lively environment, targeting a primary market of 21 to 28 year olds. As entertainment is a high priority for this age group, Stones offers a relatively inexpensive evening out compared to upmarket nightclubs. This as such resulted in a formula that is attractive to a broad market.

Plot 6

On the plot located next to the projected entertainment facilities, complementary supralocal functions will be proposed. More specifically, as this site is located on the intersection of Erica Drive and Symphony Way, it is identified as a strategic location to develop a cinema and related businesses such as a video rental. To elaborate on that, as this location is highly accessible by car and furthermore keeping in mind that a large number of UWC and CPUT students travel to campus by car on a daily basis, this location could also be used for a drive-in cinema.

Furthermore, though this cinema proposal provides for a broader area, it also answers to the day-to-day problems of the Belhar area. Considering its dormitory status and hence the lack of recreational facilities within the area,
the development of facilities such as a cinema after all give the Belhar youth a place to spend time together in a controlled manner whereas without this necessary basic elements, the youth does not have a place to go apart from hanging on the street.

Plot 7

In analogy to the two previous plots, this plot too has been identified as a spot to develop entertainment facilities. Albeit in the form of lower scale development, as this site is located along Erica Drive and as such is less exposed to through traffic. Surrounded by housing facilities for both students and non-students and having the main pedestrian corridor from Unibell station to Erica Drive running along it, this site is identified as an ideal place for low-scale food and beverage concepts such as dining places, cafeterias or small restaurants. Furthermore, to ensure that these businesses will have a certain level of social control, it is proposed that these developments will be oriented both towards the streets and residential fabric.

Plot 8

Being strategically located on the intersection of Symphony Way and Erica Drive and centrally situated between the Old Belhar area, New Belhar area as well as the UWC and CPUT campus, this site will allocate facilities which both meet the local and supralocal needs. Nevertheless, as this plot south of Erica Drive is partially occupied by the Accordion Street Primary School and hence orientated towards the Belhar urban fabric, where former proposals were primarily focused on the intensification of Belhar as a student town, the concept for plot 8 will focus more on the needs of the Belhar residents themselves. Though, as due to its central position, people in the outer corners of the Belhar area will still have to walk long distances to this site, the development will cater for the demand of facilities which are not used on a daily basis. Furthermore, as all three proposed strategies of this master dissertation should be complementary to each other, in search for an ideal use of this plot, the neighbouring proposed sports cluster of strategy 2 was also taken into account.

Taken all this into account, the proposed concept on this plot will be in the format of a media centre, sharing the building and the surrounding land with the school already present. The media centre will be focusing on a variation of people but first and foremost on the children and youths of Belhar. Activities that could take place within such a centre are programmes to stimulate children to perform arts or music which is why this centre could
facilitate for example the Belhar Brass Band which is currently operating from someone's backyard in the flats of extension 3. Furthermore, the centre could house a library, a place where children can do their homework and provide space where people could come to read the newspaper or to use the computer since not every household has access to one. Referring to UWC as important stakeholder in this strategy, this media centre could be run in cooperation with for example its Department of Educational Studies and Social Work. Apart from individual access, it would furthermore be desirable to let the centre operate in cooperation with the schools in the area, including the area of Delft.

The centre hence should above all function as a place where people can meet and get in contact with each other. In addition, another example of a future project which as such could take place here would be the establishment of the Belhar Radio Station. This concept, which could be run by several employees and a considerate amount of youth volunteers, would not only teach youths valuable skills, but would also give the people of Belhar a local 'voice'. Communicating both among the local residents within the area and communicating about Belhar to the outside world, this as such could put Belhar on the map.

**Good practice: Koch FM, Nairobi, Kenia**

The history of our country (Kenya) is replete with plunder and abuse of our country's God-given resources. Colonialism and neo-colonialism have witnessed wanton destruction of the nature’s blessings to the detriment of societal development. The gap between the poor and the rich has continued to widen year by year. The equality levels are unimaginable. This has contributed very much to the class-grouping kind of life. The upper (sic) and the middle class have continued to enjoy the services not only from the government but also media coverage and access while leaving the poor, and who are the majority, in the dark. Although some mainstream media (sic) have done a remarkable job in informing the people (sic), they are commerce-centred and in the process deprive a large section of people who are poor the opportunity to get and share information and communication. This, however, should not be agonized about as aptly advised by Franz Fanon [...] ‘It is from the underdeveloped people that a new society is built on’. This provides the impetus for the institutionalization of a people-based approach to development necessitating the birth of the first ever Community Radio in Nairobi, Koch FM 99.9 MHz. (Kock FM, n.d.)

In 2006, Koch FM started broadcasting in the Korogocho slum (Gustafsson, 2013, p. 256). The following year two more community radio stations were realised in the slums of Nairobi: Pamoja FM in Kibera and ‘Ghetto FM’ in Majengo. All three radio stations share the same frequency, 99.9 FM, which is possible because of their restricted reach. Furthermore, due to their low cost of operation, these community radio stations are small, non-profit and low-budget stations that are mainly run by volunteers and owned by associations, trusts, foundations or NGOs (Gustafsson, 2013, p. 258).

Providing residents with a platform for debate and useful social information, the community radio stations offer three types of programmes: news, topic-oriented shows and music shows (Gustafsson, 2013, p. 255-258). They all have morning shows where current political issues are discussed and health shows where doctors inform and advise the listeners on air (Gustafsson, 2013, p. 258-259). On top of that, all three radio stations broadcast youth-oriented shows that deal with the issues and obstacles such as drug abuse, teenage pregnancy, domestic violence and idleness, as well as the importance of leading a positive lifestyle.

To a large extent these radio stations both focus on and are produced by young people, mixing entertainment with an educational focus in order to raise awareness about crucial topics. Their aim is furthermore to challenge the stigmatised image of the slum by providing non-stereotypical and more positive stories about life there. As a consequence, they are often considered to be the third voice, in between state and commercial media (Bailey, Cammaerts & Carpentier in Gustafsson, 2013, p. 258). Furthermore, by involving young people in this media production, it is believed to give youth a voice and an opportunity to gain professional skills and experience.

**Plot 9**

Within the Belhar area, the existing health facilities are lacking capacity and additional facilities are needed. As this plot again is strategically located on the Symphony Way – Erica Drive intersection but similar to plot 8 is more oriented towards the Belhar neighbourhood itself, this primary spot is therefore been identified as a location to develop the needed health-related facilities. In effect, these proposed functions as such will also correspond to the neighbouring Oasis Special School for children with difficulties to learning (plot C).

The programmes that could be run here include a health centre focused on elderly, day care facilities for seniors or the implementation of a maternity clinic or crèche facility. Moreover, since UWC is situated in close proximity of this plot and in search of new outreach projects, it is as such intended that this development would operate with UWC as supporting entity. Not
This entrance point will enable students on campus to do their groceries in the Belhar CBD or hang out in the proposed discotheque, cinema or cafés. Though, as this passageway will work in two directions, UWC students living in the Belhar neighbourhood will also profit from it as it provides an extra pedestrianised entrance point and shortcut to the UWC campus, a necessity which is also addressed in the Tygerberg District Plan (City of Cape town, 2011b, p. 47). Although the pedestrian entrance (1) between Belhar and UWC would serve the UWC students in particular, it could also be used by the CPUT students, in cooperation with UWC.

Other specific locations that need special attention in terms of pedestrian accessibility is the crossing of Erica Drive in the line of the several (pedestrian) boulevards towards Unibell station (2, 3 and 4) and the crossing of Erica Drive in the line of the old cement railway line (5). Furthermore, pedestrian crossings on Symphony Way are proposed in the line of the pedestrian walk way towards the Oasis Special School (6) and between the phase 1 project and Northlink College located on plot D (7). The physical interpretations of these crossings should be understood as controlled pedestrian crossings, supported by traffic lights and indicated pedestrian cross walks.

As final note to this first strategy, a remark can be made about the ruins of the former well-functioning apartheid bus station on plot E. Standing out as a landmark within the vacant CBD area, the current plans of Calgro M3 are overlooking it as they intend to tear it down and build houses on it. We do believe it could be useful to take the preservation of this landmark into consideration as a reminder of Belhar’s apartheid past. We believe it again can function as a well-working bus station nearby the Unibell railway station or could be reshaped in the form of a central public space within the new CBD development.

**Good practice: Delft Symphony Way Community Day Centre, Cape Town, South Africa**

The Delft Community Day Centre, developed by CS Studio Architects, is located near the D.F. Malan Cape Town International Airport in a new housing area on the corner of Silver Sands Main Road and Outenikwa Road (CS Studio Architects, n.d.). The site is 4,900m² and accessible from the old Stellenbosch Arterial. It is currently surrounded by empty sandy plots with small RDP housing located to the south.

The building itself is envisaged an urban landmark which relates to the urban scale of the area. The design developed from the simple idea of creating a health village whereby Fabritsio Carola’s Moritania Hospital was one of the main inspirations. As such, believing that interactive spaces form part of the healing process, the individual separated building units create external spaces ‘in between’ which can be occupied for other recreational and medical purposes such as rehabilitation exercises. It also allows for all rooms to have natural light and ventilation.

The main entrance is on the southern side onto Silver Sands Main Road. The pre-waiting area is an undercover space that gives protection against the elements due to the long hours people have to stand and wait. The front facade is decorated with ceramic murals and fences that are creatively constructed from recycled metal. To the north of the main waiting area is a courtyard around which all the units are loosely arranged.

**Implementation phase 3: Literally opening up the ‘urban island’**

As addressed in the evaluation of the current plan for the CBD area, it was mentioned that an opening up of the area, including the development of some crucial links to the surrounding area, is of fundamental importance to penetrate the urban island and encourage interaction with the surrounding areas.

For the improvement of the accessibility of the CBD for the students and staff members of UWC, a proposal is therefore made to provide an extra pedestrian entrance point to the CBD area.

> Opening up of the ‘urban island’

**Additional entrance point to the UWC campus and pedestrian crossings on Erica Drive and Symphony Way**

This entrance point will enable students on campus to do their groceries in the Belhar CBD or hang out in the proposed discotheque, cinema or cafés. Though, as this passageway will work in two directions, UWC students living in the Belhar neighbourhood will also profit from it as it provides an extra pedestrianised entrance point and shortcut to the UWC campus, a necessity which is also addressed in the Tygerberg District Plan (City of Cape town, 2011b, p. 47). Although the pedestrian entrance (1) between Belhar and UWC would serve the UWC students in particular, it could also be used by the CPUT students, in cooperation with UWC.

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STRATEGY 2. BELHAR, SPORTS CLUSTER

STARTING POINT

As several times mentioned before in this master dissertation, UWC today has profiled itself as ‘engaged’ university. Within this engagement, it has echoed its wish to become a university of international allure which attracts students and researchers in a positive, qualitative and safe learning environment. As brought forward by the institutional planners of UWC (UWC, 2010, p. 5), this ‘engagement’ includes the ambition of UWC to profile itself as a sports university with both well performing cricket, rugby and swimming sports teams and high quality sports facilities for students and external users. In addition to this, UWC in effect would like (and has started) to develop itself in sports guidance providing education in physiotherapy and (sport)psychology.

In order to carry out its ambitions relating to sport, the university today is exploring the possibilities to acquire space for such education and its necessary learning environment. Although several options exist for the expansion of sports facilities within the campus itself, UWC realises it might be more interesting to extend the focus on areas off campus which was hence also implemented in their Institutional Operating Plan of 2010-2013 (UWC, 2010, p. 32): ‘We will maintain our dialogue and long-term relationship with national and local authorities, CHEC institutions, industry and neighbouring communities on the issue of land use and local planning with a view to identifying opportunities and providing appropriate policies and strategies for sub-regional development’.

First of all, investment off campus would indeed not only address a larger audience, in extent it would also provide the opportunity for students to practice and learn in ‘real life’. Secondly, since UWC, again referring to its ‘engaged’ status, strives to become a sustainable, creative and inclusive part of the city that is involved with its immediate surroundings, the extension of its sports facilities outside their campus would hence also serve this ambition. It is as such within this context that the mission statement of UWC’s Department of Sport, Recreation and Exercise Science, stressing the importance of sport in communities, includes: ‘The SRES Department strives to be a centre of excellence in the provision of competent and professional practitioners through innovative research and creative teaching who will contribute to the development of healthy communities through sport, recreation and exercise science’ (UWC, 2013).

Within the second strategy of this master dissertation, the focus is shifted to the dune enclave bordered by Erica Drive, Symphony Way, Stellenbosch Arterial and Chestnut Way and situated in between extension 3, 4, 6, 7 and 17. Besides the almost 7ha dune remains in the middle of the enclave, this area today facilitates the Erica Park Stadium, the Symphony Way Sports Fields and the fields of the Belhar Rugby Club, the latter being privately owned. Although some basic elements are thus already present, the fields are though not supported by additional facilities and the individual fields are merely scattered throughout the area. In effect, this sports cluster today does not form a holistic entity and lacks the capacity to fulfil the needs of the Belhar residents.

With regard to this and referring to the previous paragraphs which explained UWC’s ambition to establish itself as ‘engaged’ sports university, within this second strategy the possibilities for an off campus sports programme on this dune enclave are as such explored. In spite of UWC’s extensive plans to develop the Transnet precinct as vibrant sub-regional centre, we believe the Belhar dune area proves to be more suitable for such an ‘engaged’ development given the potential of this site and the wishes of the Belhar population. Furthermore, due to its location close to UWC itself, its complementary function to the new Belhar CBD area and the proposed developments of strategy 1, it is as such clear that this place is ideal for UWC’s ‘engaged’ expansion wishes.

Furthermore, as it is located alongside the north-south link, this off campus programme will have the possibility to address the broader region and as such focus on the attraction of sports clubs within the whole Cape Flats region. The sports complex hence could have the character of a high-quality training centre where for example teams from the wider region could be
accommodated as part of an intensified training programme on location.

In addition, by providing this off site sports programme within the Belhar fabric, UWC will also meet the needs of the Belhar ‘dormitory’ neighbourhood, provide a solution to the crime problems related to the dune area and prevent children from hanging on the streets. On top of that, since sport is a prime activity that could enhance the social cohesion of a neighbourhood, it will as such also benefit Belhar in this way. Furthermore, appointing the university as an agent within the Belhar sports sector, UWC could set a new positive example for the youth of Belhar. Within Belhar this will be of great importance recognising that the legendary Belhar Rugby Club is currently being associated with gangsterism.

As a consequence, whereas the first strategy draws from the plans made by Calgro M3, this second proposal starts from the existing situation within the dune area. Hence, as the first strategy is to a large extent initiated and dependent on the efforts and ambitions of the private developer, in the second strategy a more profound role for UWC will be determined. Moreover, as will be explained in ‘identification of the agendas of key actors’, within this second strategy UWC will act as initiator.

In conclusion, given the fact that some basic sports infrastructure is already present, the site has potential to evolve into a cluster of high-quality sports facilities that would operate on a sub-regional level. With regard to its central spot within the area and keeping in mind the previously discussed future plans concerning the north-south linkage, a sport complex facilitating for the broader region, with UWC as core agent, could as such become another pilot project within the context of this north-south linkage. In addition, the development of this vacant site will also contribute to the enhancement of social control in the area, bearing in mind the problems related to the dune area.

GOAL AND METHOD

This strategy starts from the potential on the one side and problems on the other side, which are present in the existing situation within the dune area of Belhar. Simultaneously, bearing in mind the ambitions of UWC and the positive influences that can derive from the development of sports facilities within the community, this second strategy is exploring ways in which these elements can contribute to the overall ambition to stimulate urban development within Belhar. As such, in analogy with the first strategy, the first two steps in this strategy will be the identification of agendas and wishes of both all key actors and target groups. An opening up of the dialogue between these, in this case, should be initiated by UWC as core agent. Within this dialogue UWC will hence have the opportunity to clear out its wishes to the supporting stakeholders and users in order to get the necessary approval, cooperation and financial support with regard to the development of a sub-regional sport complex.

When moving on to the implementation of this second strategy, in order to encourage the functioning of the sports cluster on a sub-regional scale, the first phase of implementation will have to focus on maximising the potential for this site by ensuring the accessibility to it for both private and public transportation. The second phase in the implementation of this strategy will again consist of the development of the individual plots themselves, allocating different sports facilities and the expansion of additional sport fields. In this phase also supporting commercial functions will be suggested. Furthermore, besides physical operations, these investments should be supported by a programmatic framework in which UWC plays a key role.

STEP 1: IDENTIFICATION OF THE AGENDAS OF KEY ACTORS

As pointed out in the previous paragraphs, whereas the first strategy takes the initiative of the private developer as a starting point, within this strategy UWC takes up the role of initiator. Furthermore, since they own the existing sports fields on the site and will be essential in providing the necessary basic interventions in the road infrastructure, the government will also be appointed as key stakeholder. In addition to this, the various sport clubs present on the site and other interested local and supralocal sports clubs are also incorporated in the process. Since the rugby club, present on this precinct, is to some extent controlled by gangs, it will be of utmost importance for UWC to enter into dialogue with them. In order to enable this, local mediators such as the ward councillor should be included in this process.

Likewise, private professionals such as physiotherapists and chiropractors might also be interested. Similarly, it should be taken into consideration to engage external sponsors and investors to this project, thus exploring the possibilities for the private sector to support for example a particular team or concept.

Furthermore, as a final note, since the sport complex will need the necessary supporting facilities such as for example the exploitation of a sports canteen, restaurant or additional commercial facilities, these possible
In order to make the development a successful one, it must be taken into consideration that accessibility to the site is provided for in an adequate manner. With regard to this, this means that the current dune remains, which today function as a barrier within the urban fabric of Belhar, will first have to be flattened in order to make the site suitable for development. Furthermore, several adjustments to the basic infrastructure within the area must be made. These include first and foremost the realisation of adequate access of private and public transport to the site from both Chestnut Way and Symphony Way. With regard to this, safe minibus taxi ranks and parking areas should be provided at both sides. Furthermore in order to open up the site a road connection in between the two access points, crossing the complex, is necessary.

In addition, the several sports facilities should be developed in such manner that the individual facilities together form a cluster which means that the creation of adequate connections between the individual fields and buildings should be provided for. Furthermore, when treating the area as a cohesive entity, it is proposed to fence it off as a whole, thus ensuring a safe environment within the cluster and preventing the site to become the target of theft and vandalism at night.

**STEP 2: IDENTIFICATION OF THE WISHES OF ALL TARGET GROUPS**

Concerning the exact infill of the sport cluster it is important that all target groups are being included in the discussion in order to let all stakeholders benefit from this project to a maximum extent.

In the initial phase UWC will therefore have to express its wishes in relation to its students, both as users of the sporting facilities and as providers of supporting services such as physiotherapy. Furthermore, as this sports cluster is intended to cover a wider region, both local residents and those of neighbouring residential areas should be heard to identify the local needs and priorities which is why a participatory process should be the start of the development. Moreover, a close cooperation with the schools in the area should also be encouraged since the implementation of a sports complex of high quality would release them from their financial burden to maintain their own sports facilities and would in addition give the individual schools the opportunity to provide their learners with better sport facilities and professional guidance.

**IMPLEMENTATION PHASE 1: BASIC INTERVENTIONS IN THE FORMATION OF A CLUSTER**

(1) Fencing of the sport precinct
(2) Additional road connection
(3) Parking along Chestnut Way
(4) Parking along Symphony Way

> Site and situation of plot 1 to 3 and plot A to C
(A) Erica Park Stadium
(B) Belhar Rugby Club
(C) Symphony Way Sports Fields
Since the need for a new swimming pool has already been addressed by both the Tygerberg District Plan and the local ward councillor of Belhar, this is considered an element which should definitely be incorporated within the sports complex. Since there is no swimming pool within the broader area, except for the one on campus, it is noted in the District Plan (2011b, 115) that this new pool will facilitate for the areas of Bishop Lavis, Sarepta and Delft as well.

For the plots which are more imbedded within the sports fields, it is proposed to develop them with new sports facilities answering the needs of both Belhar residents, those of the broader area and interested sports clubs. Possible facilities that could be implemented are as such fitness centres and accommodation for yoga classes or dance workshops. In addition, commercial services for both athletes and supporters such as a bars or sports canteen are suggested which moreover also could result in extra job opportunities for Belhar residents.

Furthermore, supporting functions such as a revalidation centre or offices for private physiotherapists, chiropractors or even podiatrists, should also be included. It is with regard to these programmes that UWC as a provider of academic and professional skills could contribute to ensure a high standard sports cluster. As UWC could also use the sports cluster as a ‘real life laboratory’ to expand its field of training and research, added value hence could be achieved for both the university and the users of the sports complex.

Good Practice: Velokhaya Life Cycling Academy, Khayelitsha, Cape Town, South Africa (realisation 2003)

The Velokhaya Life Cycling Academy is a non-profit organisation, based in Khayelitsha which focuses on cycling-based programmes that target children between the ages of 9 to 18 (Velokhaya, n.d.). Sport should be an integral part of the education of children, however access to sport facilities for children growing up in townships is often limited. For this reason, the programmes provided by this organisation are aiming at the encouragement of participation in sport, the provision of school-based road safety programmes and are moreover facilitating a range of competitive programmes that allow for
Referring to what was mentioned in the introduction of our three strategies, in contrast to the two previously discussed strategies which focused on particular pilot projects alongside the north-south link, this third project will focus on the whole of New Belhar. In addition, where the first two strategies were strategic projects serving both the Belhar and wider area around it, the third strategy will rather use the concept of ‘urban acupuncture’ (Southworth in Pieterse, 2010, p. 103) implementing small-scale injections in the Belhar urban fabric itself. As this project will in particular meet the priorities of the local residents, though it relates to a larger area, the scope of this strategy will thus be smaller than the first two. Accordingly, whereas the first strategies answered to the introvert and dormitory character of the whole Belhar neighbourhood, this third strategy will focus more on the dormitory, physically unattractive and socially instable climate of the New Belhar area.

In addressing these problems, since this strategy focuses on the whole of the New Belhar area, the urban fabric was analysed and both nodal and linear structures were identified as strategically located spots and starting points for new initiatives. After all, according to Southworth (in De Raedt, 2010, p. 124) ‘urban public spaces – streets, squares, promenades, as well as the green spaces – are the primary meeting places of people in urban settlements. Functionally, they act as ‘urban living rooms’ and as
seams of connectivity and should be viewed as the primary form of social infrastructure in settlements. As for the nodal structures these locations were found ideal to allocate several programmatic initiatives which both could address the dormitory status of the Belhar neighbourhood and enhance social contact in the neighbourhood. Likewise, in addressing the crime issues of the area which are linked to unsafe pedestrian routes, combined with the indicated linear structures, these nodal points make up a safe internal movement network which as such allocate both safe walking lines and socially controlled anchor points. Furthermore, as this pedestrian network includes schools and important points of interest such as station or churches, we believe this network will be used throughout the day. Due to this social control, it as such also provides the opportunity to upgrade the physical environment surrounding it by cleaning up and filling in open and underutilised spaces. By linking investments in public space to new forms of development and the provision of additional facilities, such a pedestrian network can become an integrated development in which a combined set of programmes can achieve far more than the sum of independent initiatives. As exemplified by Southworth, ‘individual projects planned to provide support to informal traders, build a taxi rank and landscape a space were pulled into one project of a significant scale and impact, thus having a more profound effect’ (Pieterse, 2010, p. 104).

**Good Practice:** VPUU: ‘Urban Design Principles on a Safe Node’, Khayelitsha, Cape Town, South Africa (realisation 2006-2014)

Within the programme ‘Urban Design Principles on a Safe Node’, carried out by the VPUU (Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading), social engagement combined with town planning is used to fight crime and improve the living conditions for local residents (VPUU Khayelitsha, n.d.). The VPUU aims to change the physical and environmental conditions that generate crime and fear of crime through improved urban design and planning. This particular programme, which was implemented in Khayelitsha, suggested the development of a series of ‘active boxes’, carried out as spaza shops, doubling as safe houses and community patrol bases, along main pedestrian routes within the area. This idea was based on the identification of crime hotspots that were indicated after an analysis of the area during a survey and after community consultation.

In a second phase, tied to the network of active boxes, ‘community sub-centres’ were established that in turn attracted businesses (Open Architecture Network, 2012). Furthermore, attention was given to the upgrading of the network in terms of landscaping and the provision of public spaces and places for sport and recreation. In addition, to contribute to a sense of community, events aiming at social cohesiveness were organised, thus involving the residents in the upgrading of their direct environment.

Yet again, although this strategy primarily focuses on the improvement of the living conditions of the New Belhar residents, it has to be mentioned that in doing this, likewise the local investment conditions are also upgraded. With regard to this, as such all three strategies will meet the initial goal which is to ‘strengthen the economic basis’ of the Belhar neighbourhood formulated in the previously mentioned framework. In addition to this, whilst implementing these small-scale injections, not only internal problems will be resolved and investment conditions improved, also the inequality between the Old and New Belhar area, mentioned in the narrative ‘divided neighbourhood’, will become less profound.

**GOAL AND METHOD**

By focusing on the key nodal and linear structures that make up the urban patchwork of New Belhar, this third strategy encourages a holistic upgrade of the area which in accordance will result in an overall improvement of the present investment conditions. As such the primary aim is not to start large-scale projects but to enhance cooperation on a lower scale and with limited financial means in order to create a vibrant, crime free, socially and physically qualitative and stable environment. Since this particular strategy primarily focuses on the needs of the local residents and as such functions as a strategy operating within a smaller scope than the first two strategies, the first two steps within this strategy will be the bringing together of the key stakeholders by addressing the needs of the local residents, thus starting from a bottom-up approach.

Furthermore, the first and second implementation of this strategy corresponds with the identification and development of both the key nodal and key linear structures. In addition to both these implementations, an umbrella principle concerning the neighbourhood watch concept will be discussed. To conclude, the final phase of this strategy will imply the identification of several key sites that will be allocated for further economic investments, addressing the stimulation of local job opportunities. However, this last phase will most probably improve its chances for success when the first three phases including the neighbourhood watch concept have been realised.
STEP 1: IDENTIFICATION OF THE AGENDAS OF KEY ACTORS

In the second chapter of this master dissertation, the narratives ‘faith and family’ and ‘cooperative community’ indicated several community-based key organisations such as the various churches, community fora or senior clubs which are currently active in the Belhar neighbourhood. As these initiatives are the result of a bottom-up approach enhancing the self-organisation of the community, they are as such the representatives of the Belhar community and key initiators of this third strategy.

However, whereas the community is the key actor for initiative, the implementation of new strategies will though have to attract private investors. Accordingly, this must be done in cooperation with agents such as UWC, the local government and external NGO’s. The role of UWC, in contrast to the first two strategies, will hence be less profound as their influence will be more in support of the community initiatives. Although UWC does not take up the role of initiating stakeholder, it does have an important role offering support in a programmatic way.

STEP 2: IDENTIFICATION OF THE WISHES OF ALL TARGET GROUPS

To be able to trace down all wishes, core needs and common goals of the community, the first step of the community’s representatives, as mentioned in the paragraphs above, will be to organise meetings with the population and to get actively involved with people’s daily needs and priorities.

Within the scope of this master dissertation, limited in time of research, the organisation of such community meetings was not possible. Considering this hiatus, the proposals that will be made in this strategy will be based upon our analyses in the second chapter of this master dissertation which correspond to the issues that were identified after being involved with the people of Belhar.

IMPLEMENTATION PHASE 1: ADDRESSING THE KEY NODAL STRUCTURES

As pointed out in the first chapter, the intention of Uytenbogaardt in the design of the New Belhar area was to create a habitable living environment. With regard to this, a profound role was given to several ‘collective’ or ‘community-based’ public spaces such as access courts dispersed within the street pattern, centrally located small squares or school plots encapsulated by the residential fabric. Yet today, as explained in the second chapter, due to financial constraints and problems related to the socio-economic status of the people, these so-called ‘collective’ places in many cases turned out to be a negative type of space resulting in underutilised and poorly maintained plots. However, due to their maintainable size and location, we believe these places still have the potential to be used more intensely.

As such, bearing in mind the intentional idea of Uytenbogaardt, in analysing the urban fabric looking for key nodal and strategically located plots as starting points for new ‘place-making’ initiatives, subsequently these ‘collective’ places popped up. Accordingly, within the first implementation phase of this third strategy, proposals will be made for these current underutilised spaces ranging from small structural interventions to forms of temporary urbanism or even complete re-imaginings. Referring to the goal of this third strategy, whilst implementing these proposals the aim is to increase social contact, decrease the dormitory status of the neighbourhood and create the safe enjoyment of open spaces by facilitating the development of intensely used activities around open spaces.

To be able to explain the proposed actions on these key nodal structures, the collective places of Uytenbogaardt were divided in three groups: underutilised public spaces and access courts, partially occupied collective school sites and empty school sites.
Underutilised public spaces and access courts

Continuous and structural urbanism

The proposals concerning the underutilised public spaces and access courts, which are currently in a poor environmental state, first of all relate to a continuous and structural physical upgrade. Admittedly, as the second chapter mentioned that former upgrade attempts by the government did not have a lasting effect, a different approach is here hence brought forward whereby residents themselves are continuously and actively involved in the care of their living environment.

As a consequence, a programmatic approach is suggested including the encouragement of ‘do-it-yourself’ activities which in the beginning can be focused on bonding activities such as street dinners or entertainment activities. Though, at the point where neighbours get to know each other and are taking pride in their environment, these ‘do-it-yourself’ activities could shift to more practical activities as street cleaning or small reparations in and around the houses. In encouraging people to bond, to work together and by stimulating them to take responsibility for their direct living environment, people will indeed become more proud of their environment and as such will take better care of it hence providing a more long term solution in terms of the upgrading of the area. Just as Marschall mentions it (Marschall & Kearney, 2000, p. 17): ‘The extent to which the community identifies with the structure determines the likelihood that the building (or environment) will be used, maintained or protected from vandalism in the near future’.

Furthermore, in order to raise the prospect of a sustainable upgrading, it is of great importance to include children and youths in local clean-up programmes. For that reason not only should the residents themselves but also local schools be included in the programmes by making environmental science part of the school curriculum and by carrying out school-based neighbourhood projects.

Looked at in practical terms, it could be the role of the government or local NGO’s to organisationally and financially support these initiatives. Though, additional funds and engagement for setting up these neighbourhood upgrading programmes could also be raised through media attention or by attracting local private investors. In terms of organisation it as such might be interesting to establish a committee of key actors including a team of dedicated residents, interested local schools, city officials, local environmental agencies and interested NGO’s.

Temporary urbanism

Whereas the previously explained proposals relate to a continuous form of urbanism, the second initiative with regard to the underutilised public spaces and access courts focuses on a temporary form of urbanism. The idea is that within the necessary continuous and structural upgrading of the environment as a whole, pragmatic temporary initiatives could take shape in order to stimulate the actual usage of the public space and at the same time enhance the social control in the area.

A first example of such temporary project could be in the concept of a ‘mobile library’. This bus with books and study-related material, which shuttles between residential areas both within and outside Belhar, as such could visit each public space or access court in the New Belhar area at a set time on a weekly basis or once a fortnight. In implementing this temporary form of urbanism, it enhances the creation of an attraction point for children and local residents and thus stimulates the usage of the public space.

A similar concept which could be implemented is the ‘pretcamionette’6, a play lot in a mobile format. Similarly to the ‘mobile library’, this minivan equipped with game- and sports related material could shuttle between different neighbourhoods. Visiting each public space or access court in the New Belhar area on a regular basis, it will as such attract and stimulate children from throughout the whole neighbourhood to come and play together under the auspices of experienced community workers or volunteers. The idea is that whilst children interact with both each other and their direct environment, they in the meanwhile help to create a safe and attractive area. As the organisation of such pretcamionette could furthermore be done by local residents or youths it would also enhance local involvement within the area.

Good practice: Pretcamionette, Belgium

The ‘pretcamionette’ is a Belgian concept where a minivan is rebuilt into a mobile playground (Waelkens, 12-02-2012). Packed with play things, these minibuses stop at street corners and small playgrounds to entertain children from throughout the whole neighbourhood to come and play together on a weekly basis or once a fortnight. In implementing this temporary form of urbanism, the second initiative with regard to the underutilised public spaces and access courts focuses on a temporary form of urbanism. The idea is that whilst children interact with both each other and their direct environment, they in the meanwhile help to create a safe and attractive area. As the organisation of such pretcamionette could furthermore be done by local residents or youths it would also enhance local involvement within the area.

Good practice: Pretcamionette, Belgium
In the paragraphs below three types of complementary development will be proposed. Where the first entails a complementary school-based programme which asks for little physical intervention, the last two will however have a larger impact as they will cater for complete new facilities. Dependent on the new function allocated, these last two interventions will furthermore be divided in either plots with an open or closed character. The idea behind this is that while some complementary functions allow for public use, others will rather benefit from an enclosed and protected environment.

**Complementary school-based programmes**

In proposing complementary functions to school sites, priority must be given to basic needs of its surrounding residents. As the second chapter of this master dissertation explained that a considerate amount of the people here are suffering from a shortage of food, within the following proposal this is hence something which will be brought into account. Previously there have been some attempts to set up community kitchens but due to a lack of organisation these eventually were closed again. We believe that by linking these community kitchens to the schools, this concept could be carried out in a more professional manner as schools could provide these kitchens with better basic infrastructure and could link it to its own organisation. Above all, as schools cater for the families of the children attending it, in functioning as a logical distribution point, these school bounded community kitchens are hence able to provide for the most important target group, the children, first. Furthermore, as these schools have a huge reserve of open land, besides school kitchens small-scale urban agriculture should be taken into consideration which could be cultivated in collaboration with the children of the school, parents, teachers and even neighbours residing in the homes surrounding the school plots. These kitchen-gardens in effect will both function for the provision of food and as an educational and social activity carried out by a network of people. Above all, by forming such network, social cohesion between local residents will be enhanced and parents of all children will get acquainted with each other. In doing so parents, which are often home late due to long commuter distances and unreliable public transport, have the opportunity to organise themselves and for example take turns in attending to their children after school. This as such would enable them to keep their children of the streets and avoid the chance of them being influence by gangsterism and crime. In addition this would

**CHAPTER 3 | NEW STRATEGIES TOWARDS A POST-APARTHEID SPACE**

**STRATEGY 3 | NEW BELHAR 2.0**

With regard to the former two programmes, support from UWC could be included, keeping in mind the possibilities of involving internships from the university’s Department of Social work at the Faculty of Community and Health Sciences.

Another form of organised activities on the public spaces of New Belhar could relate to the involvement of the local police force. Since the police are already trying to address the youth of Belhar by organising information sessions on schools, this interaction between the police and the youth could be extended to activities organised on location within the urban fabric of Belhar. By organising activities in the area which is the most vulnerable to gangsterism and violence, the police could hence set a positive example where it is most effective and at the same time enhance social control within the area.

**Partially occupied collective school sites**

As pointed out several times before, within its urban design for the New Belhar area Uytenbogaardt intended to create three types of ‘collective’ places. As for those places which were completely encapsulated by the residential fabric, it was determined that they would facilitate either primary or secondary schools. Yet, as pointed out in the second chapter of this master dissertation, today a number of these plots are left open whilst all others are only partially occupied by school buildings. Considering these half-open plots, as the individual school boards lack the financial capacity to maintain them properly, the open fields adjacent to the school building are today in a very poor condition.

Nevertheless, since these half-open collective sites are well imbedded within the residential patchwork and thus easily accessible on foot, they offer opportunities to allocate new facilities or programmes which are attended to by residents on a daily basis. For this reason this strategy aims at rationalising the use of these partially vacant plots by addressing complementary functions to the already existing educational function. As the costs for maintenance will furthermore be shared, these development proposals will as such not only benefit the dormitory character of the area but also financially benefit the schools. On top of that, besides its cost-effectiveness this multi-functionality will also add to ‘the excitement and sense of uniqueness’ (Marschall In Marschall & Kearney, 2000, p. 43) of the collective places as intended by Uytenbogaardt.

In the paragraphs below three types of complementary development will be proposed. Where the first entails a complementary school-based programme which asks for little physical intervention, the last two will however have a larger impact as they will cater for complete new facilities. Dependent on the new function allocated, these last two interventions will furthermore be divided in either plots with an open or closed character. The idea behind this is that while some complementary functions allow for public use, others will rather benefit from an enclosed and protected environment.

**Complementary school-based programmes**

In proposing complementary functions to school sites, priority must be given to basic needs of its surrounding residents. As the second chapter of this master dissertation explained that a considerate amount of the people here are suffering from a shortage of food, within the following proposal this is hence something which will be brought into account.

Previously there have been some attempts to set up community kitchens but due to a lack of organisation these eventually were closed again. We believe that by linking these community kitchens to the schools, this concept could be carried out in a more professional manner as schools could provide these kitchens with better basic infrastructure and could link it to its own organisation. Above all, as schools cater for the families of the children attending it, in functioning as a logical distribution point, these school bounded community kitchens are hence able to provide for the most important target group, the children, first.

Furthermore, as these schools have a huge reserve of open land, besides school kitchens small-scale urban agriculture should be taken into consideration which could be cultivated in collaboration with the children of the school, parents, teachers and even neighbours residing in the homes surrounding the school plots. These kitchen-gardens in effect will both function for the provision of food and as an educational and social activity carried out by a network of people. Above all, by forming such network, social cohesion between local residents will be enhanced and parents of all children will get acquainted with each other. In doing so parents, which are often home late due to long commuter distances and unreliable public transport, have the opportunity to organise themselves and for example take turns in attending to their children after school. This as such would enable them to keep their children of the streets and avoid the chance of them being influence by gangsterism and crime. In addition this would
especially benefit the large proportion of single-mothers who are often struggling with the upbringing of their children.

Complementary facilities with an open character

The following proposal relates to the facilitation of a complementary facility to the existing educational function currently present on the half-open school site. Moreover in this case, in contrast to the next proposals, this development will include the current openness of the plot thus stimulating functions that allow for public use. As such the concept of 'collective' space making, as intended by Uytenbogaardt, is being used to the maximum extend.

Plot 1

As the narrative 'inferior dormitory neighbourhood' of the second chapter explained, today seniors in the Belhar neighbourhood are not adequately provided with the necessary facilities. Since this group is particularly vulnerable in terms of ill-health and immobility issues, being to a large extend dependent on others, the provision of an extra senior centre, including nursing homes and senior clubs, would improve their situation and prevent them to become socially isolated from community life. Furthermore, as this senior centre will be established on a half-open school site, the bringing together of all age-groups at one location will also reinforce the community-effect.

In selecting a half-open school plot for this senior centre, the site encapsulated by Alabama Drive, Hanover Avenue, Bloemendale Avenue and Batavia Drive was chosen for four reasons. First of all, as this plot is located within the urban fabric, it will be able to encourage the integration of elderly in the community. Secondly, as it is furthermore located in close proximity of Belhar Drive, easy access for visitors travelling by public transport is guaranteed. In addition to this, by establishing a senior centre accompanied with a public landscaped garden, the spontaneously created walking lines present on this plot will furthermore benefit from the development as social control and safety will increase. And lastly, due its size this public garden will also have the opportunity for both elderly residing in the senior centre or people living nearby to cultivate a small kitchen-garden. Above all, if the design for this plot include that both the senior centre and school are oriented towards the proposed public garden, in encouraging the passive surveillance of these areas, this in effect would mean that only school buildings and the senior centre themselves should be closed off and the open character of the plot would be assured.
Within the proposal for this senior centre, a partnership should thus be made with the school board occupying this particular plot. Though in addition, when looking for the necessary professional resources, local NGO’s and UWC could also be attracted. Moreover, as UWC in this could facilitate internships for students of the Faculty of Community and Health Sciences, a win-win situation for both parties could be created.

Complementary facilities with a closed character

Whereas the previous paragraph discussed the development of an open-character complementary facility, some of the facilities which are a priority to community are better served when developed within an enclosed and protected environment. With regard to this, the following projects include the proposals for after-school programmes, a shelter home for children and a rehabilitation clinic for drugs and alcohol abusers.

Plot 2

As mentioned throughout the narratives of the second chapter, today the Belhar children and youths are in desperate need of extra recreational facilities to enjoy themselves in a controlled and safe environment. As such, to prevent children from hanging out on the streets where they become the most vulnerable to elements of crime, in contrast to the former proposal which was focused upon an open-character facility for the elderly population, this development shifts towards the needs of the Belhar children and youths, providing them with a more closed, safe recreational environment.

As a consequence, the sharing of school sites with after-school music and arts programmes or youth movements such as scouting organisations will therefore form the basis of this concept. By clustering these activities, children and youths will have the opportunity to stay and participate in after-school activities on the same site. This as such will prevent them from hanging out on the streets as their parents are able to bring their children to school in the morning and pick them up after work at the same location after regular school-hours. Furthermore, as the school building and open fields present on this plot will be both used during and after school-hours as well as during weeks and weekends, value will be added to the site. In addition, as maintenance costs will be shared this will similarly benefit the schools financial situation.

By implementing this joint usage of the building, close collaboration between the school board, social workers and community should be established.

In support of the resources and training of skilled people to work with children, the contribution of UWC and more specifically its Department of Social Work could be of importance.

As a final note, in selecting a half-open school plot for this proposal, the site encapsulated by Koeberg Avenue, Anreith Avenue and Da Gama Crescent was preferred, as it is embedded within the residential patchwork, is highly accessible for children coming from the whole area of New Belhar.

Plot 3

To elaborate on the issues related to the provision of a safe place for children, the same can be argued for the lack of adequate facilities for children who are dealing with crisis-situations and are in need of extra care. As pointed out in the narrative ‘breeding for social problems and crime’ in the second chapter, there are numerous social problems that relate to domestic violence, rape and drug or alcohol abuse. As a result, children are often neglected and not looked after in a proper way. For this reason, the proposal for this plot is the establishment of a shelter home for children.

By placing shelter homes in the direct environment of a school, they will not only share resources and space but also provide these children with a positive role-model by offering them a perspective on a better future through education.

Due to its proposed function as a shelter home, this site focuses less on the public character of the space. Hence, in selecting a half-open school plot for this proposal, the site encapsulated by Haarlem Avenue, Drakenstein Way and Matroosberg Crescent was preferred. Being located on a corner of the residential patchwork, the location contributes to the more protected character of the site. As such, the open space that will be incorporated in the design will be used for the school and the children of the shelter home only and will not be open for the public.

The establishment of a shelter home needs to be supported by professional social workers and with regard to this, UWC again plays a profound role. In addition, partnerships should be established through the collaboration with the Victim Support Unit of Belhar and local NGO’s.

Empty collective school sites

Where the previous section of this chapter focused upon the ‘collective’ half-open school sites, this section will explore the possibilities of those
In accordance with the before mentioned empty ‘collective’ place, all remaining indicated plots could be identified for residential development. However, as all these plots are located within the Belhar self-help areas, it should be taken into consideration to reserve a number of them for the provision of new schools as anno 2013 none of these are present. After all, with regard to the initial plans, as discussed in the first chapter of this master dissertation, these plots were also intended for schools.

**IMPLEMENTATION PHASE 2: ADDRESSING THE KEY LINEAR STRUCTURES**

Crime incidents in the Belhar area are today often linked with unsafe pedestrian routes. As such, when looking for strategic locations as starting points for new upgrading initiatives, besides the mentioned nodal structures, also key linear pedestrian route structures were identified, including the large-scale spines of Belhar Drive and the old cement railway line which both are running from Delft, through Belhar, towards the Pentech station.
Within the aim of this section proposals will be made to develop both spines into two safe and well-working walking lines. As mentioned in the starting point of this strategy, combined with the socially controlled nodal anchor points, these safe walking lines will as such be able to establish a complete safe internal movement network which will improve overall living conditions and enhance investment conditions within the New Belhar area.

To conclude on these linear structures, as both intensely used pedestrian flows converge at the Pentech station, this offers the opportunity to create an additional socially controlled anchor point within the internal movement network. However, due to its location, in contrast to the before discussed ‘collective’ nodes, this node will be developed with a more profound focus on economic development. Details on this will be discussed in a separate proposal.

The former cement railway line and its extension towards the Pentech station

One of the linear structures that has been identified as a crucial element towards the creation of a safe and accessible patchwork is a former railway line which used to serve the cement industry in Phillipi and still is running through the residential patchwork of Belhar. Currently this former railway line forms a buffer between the middle class residents of extension 6 and 7 and the poorer people from New Belhar. Running from Stellenbosch Arterial to Erica Drive with an additional extension towards the Pentech station, this linear space offers opportunities for a direct and controlled walkway for the people from New Belhar and Delft to the most frequently used railway station of Belhar.

This old cement railway line today has an average width of 20m and is at some parts as wide as 65m. Furthermore this linear space is to a large extent flanked by a road although, as in between the Stellenbosch Arterial and Pentech station fundamental parts are missing, access for motorised transport is not complete. Although the spine is already used by pedestrians as a fast connection to the Pentech station right through the urban patchwork, there are no adequate facilities present for pedestrian movement such as street lightning or street furniture. In addition, this former railway line is not well maintained and as such lacks the attractiveness of a walk way since safety within this space is no guarantee. With regard to this there is also a lack of social control over the area since the houses along the spine are to a large extend positioned in a way that the backside of the house faces the old cement line and for most parts a blank wall is facing the spine.

The first step in developing this spine would be the extension of the road that is flanking the old railway line. Filling in the missing links would not only benefit private motorised transport but could also address opportunities for the provision of public transportation. As a consequence, since the road would be extended towards Erica Drive, an additional taxi rank should be implemented at the intersection together with an adequate pedestrian crossing, including traffic lights.

As the old railway line would be better accessible for both private and public motorised transport, social control in the area would be encouraged which as a consequence will enhance the safety of the walking line. Therefore, in addition to the extension of the road alongside this old railway line, a strip flanking the road could be designed as a slow-boulevard providing for the controlled movement of non-motorised mobility, including pedestrian and cycling movements. By reserving a separate strip for non-motorised usage, the safety of the pedestrian or cyclist is being addressed. Along this reservation, a widening of the strip at several points could provide spaces to put down street furniture such as benches or provide additional landscaping in order to develop the spine as an attractive and cohesive framework.

By taking elements of landscaping and the reservation of safe space into consideration, the spine could also function as a recreational corridor, providing opportunities for people to go jogging or take a stroll. Besides the general landscaping, the current blank wall, which is facing the spine for some parts of the route, could be made attractive by implementing strong art projects carried out by youths. Furthermore, to extend the accessibility and to open up the current closed structure and thus to enhance social control, several openings through the wall towards adjacent streets should be carried out in the form of functional ‘space-making’ projects. Examples of these will be discussed in the next paragraphs.

Good practice: Human Rights Wall, community mural, Durban, South Africa

‘One can scarcely deny art a place in architecture without denying the usefulness of art as a humanising, scale-giving and psychologically benevolent factor’. (Dubow in Marschall & Kearney, 2000, p. 146)

According to Marschall (Marschall & Kearney, 2000, p. 147) the recent emergence of a trend for colourful murals and mosaics in upgrades of facilities suggests the discovery of the softening and uplifting qualities and its power to provide a visually stimulating and positively engaging focus in harsh surroundings. Furthermore she emphasises that it is hereby vital that...
interested people from the surrounding community should become involved and participate within the development. Within community meeting themes for artwork can be generated, allowing the artwork to become a focal point of shared memories and aspirations. According to Marschall (Marschall & Kearney, 2000, p. 151) this process of collaboration may in some cases even be more important than the end result.

As a final note, it is mentioned that a wide range of street art can not only be achieved at very low cost, but much of it can also easily be done by untrained, low-skilled people (Marschall & Kearney, 2000, pp. 150-151). For example, the community-based organisation of Community Mural Projects in Durban, has had very positive experience with training participants on the job, thus improving their skills and providing some people with an opportunity to be at least temporarily employed.

Plot 10

Every morning, commuters from both New Belhar and the adjacent community of Delft walk along the cement railway line to the Pentech station. Every evening they do the same the other way around. As a consequence, considering the local need for small-scale commercial activities, this offers certain opportunities to develop (informal) commercial activities along this route. Whilst providing a secure space and basic services in the form of a central market place, located at what is currently the widest point of the railway line and which is furthermore centrally located on this spine, both a socially controlled anchor point is provided for and the commercial needs of the neighbourhood are met. Accordingly, this concept will ensure people who have to spend a large amount of time on commuting to places of employment, to first of all have a safe walk way to home and secondly enables them to do their groceries on their way home, thus saving them time and effort.

With regard this small-scale local market place, which could have a permanent character, provisions will be made to organise trading facilities in a way that traders can store and lock their merchandise at night. In providing a secure and attractive place for commercial activity, this will entail the functioning of the square as a central meeting place within the urban fabric. Whilst focusing on the central market place in the initial phase, this development could eventually lead to the expansion of an informal trading route starting from this central point. Moreover, by retaining and developing this linked and continuous multi-functional open space corridor, this spine could function as a structuring element of the neighbourhood.
Whereas the linear space between Stellenbosch Arterial and Erica Drive forms a continuous line, the part that runs from Erica Drive to the Pentech station through extension 23 merely comprises of a chain of poorly maintained public spaces, although efforts have been made to improve some parts of this walkway by tarring them. Within this area, the same strategy should be supported as was suggested in relation to the underutilised public spaces and access courts, concerning the structural and continuous urban upgrading on the one hand and the temporary upgrading of the area on the other hand. Considering this temporary urbanism, as for example the space just north of Erica Drive would border the proposed ‘student town’ development and student residences on plot 16, public braai places could be provided for which as such could be used by both local residents and students.

**Belhar Drive activity spine**

Another linear structure of importance is the motorised transport-oriented corridor of Belhar Drive, connecting Erica Drive to Stellenbosch Arterial. Along this road structure, together with the civic precinct on Huguenot Square, several commercial activities already took off, including some local supermarkets, local small enterprises and a gas station. As such this motorised corridor already provides for the necessary social control for those who commute on a daily basis between the Pentech station and home and furthermore forms an attraction point for further development.

Referring to the future economic development of the Belhar Drive corridor, following the Tygerberg District Plan, this must be in support of the functioning of this route as an activity street facilitating local land use intensification and mixed use development (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 142). Considering the necessary accessibility in order to stimulate higher order commercial activity, it is of great importance that the private and public mobility routes surrounding it form a cohesive and complete network. With regard to this, Belhar Drive currently is missing an important connection to the north which limits the access of car and minibus taxis to the Pentech station and the Sacks Circle industrial precinct. When developing this corridor, following the Tygerberg District Plan, this must be in support of the functioning of this route as an activity street facilitating local land use intensification and mixed use development (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 142). Considering the necessary accessibility in order to stimulate higher order commercial activity, it is of great importance that the private and public mobility routes surrounding it form a cohesive and complete network. With regard to this, Belhar Drive currently is missing an important connection to the north which limits the access of car and minibus taxis to the Pentech station and the Sacks Circle industrial precinct. When developing this corridor, following the Tygerberg District Plan, this must be in support of the functioning of this route as an activity street facilitating local land use intensification and mixed use development (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 142). Considering the necessary accessibility in order to stimulate higher order commercial activity, it is of great importance that the private and public mobility routes surrounding it form a cohesive and complete network.
the waste disposal site.

Again referring to the fact that the success rate of the Belhar Drive activity spine will depend on both its daily pedestrian commuters and the passing through traffic, it is hence clear that the proposed extension of Erica Drive towards Kuilsrivier and the R300 in the first strategy also must be taken into consideration. With regard to the future development on the CBD area as proposed in the first strategy of this master dissertation, it should here be noted that this is complementary to the proposed development of Belhar Drive. After all, whereas the first strategy will first and foremost profit from students, through traffic towards UWC and commuters towards Unibell station, the proposals with regard to Belhar Drive will be primarily driven by people moving from and towards the Pentech station.

In the paragraphs below, possible future activities alongside Belhar Drive will be proposed whereby, in contrast to the proposed development in the first strategy, attention will be given to commercial development for local entrepreneurs. Furthermore, again in contrast to the first strategy, Belhar Drive represents a significant opportunity to build on the existing civic cluster to form a high quality local civic precinct with opportunities for functions in the public sphere. Hence a range of facilities and services that are supported and shared by communities should be encouraged. These functions, combined with proposed safe link towards Pentech station, civic upgrades, landscaping and provisions for non-motorised transport should ensure a high quality urban landscape and hence increase the private investment conditions of the whole area.

Plot 11

The proposal for this plot concerns the expansion of North Link College which is offering education in vocational training. As there is a demand for skilled technical people within Cape Town, taking the general low education level of the Belhar residents and the large number of young unskilled human capital into consideration, investment in such educational facilities would here be very successful. In addition would this focus on technical education as bricklayer, carpenter or even plumber not only increase their socio-economic status, it would furthermore provide them with the necessary skills to contribute to an increase and stimulation of urban upgrades throughout the area. As such, possibilities should be explored to seek partnerships with local NGO’s that could support and guide initiatives relating to the stimulation of self-reliance in urban upgrade. Moreover as this plot is located in close proximity to the North Link College itself, to

CPUT and to the industries of Sacks Circle it furthermore provides the opportunity to share resources, knowledge and tools.

Plot 12

When redeveloping Belhar Drive, it should be taken into account that some functions are in need of a more profound visual presentation within the neighbourhood. This applies to commercial functions but the same can be said for civil services such as the local police force. Since the Belhar police station is located in a capacity lacking building, as was pointed out in the narrative ‘inferior dormitory neighbourhood’ there is a need for an adequately equipped police station. With regard to this, a proposal is made to allocate this plot alongside Belhar Drive for the development of a new police station in close proximity of the ever busy intersection with Alabama and Arundel Drive.

Plot 13 and 14

With regard to the highly accessible location of these plots, embedded within existing clusters of commercial activity, this proposal includes the provision of a location for informal trade such as currently is carried out on places along Stellenbosch Arterial and Modderdam Road. Another option would be the provision of legal taverns and small cafes which should be placed along local activity streets, hence benefiting from high visibility in order to keep social control over it, rather than to embed them within residential areas in close proximity to non-complementary functions such as schools. Taken into account that there is currently is a general lack of places for entertainment and relaxation, other commercial activities such as kiosks and restaurants could also be implemented.

Plot 15

The proposal for this plot concerns the increase of local job opportunities. Considering the highly accessible location on the intersection of Belhar Drive and Erica Drive, while keeping in mind the proposed extensions of both roads, this site forms a strategic location for the promotion of small and medium enterprises that could be related to the surrounding industries. Among ideas for investment opportunities the development of a recycling plant, operating on a regional scale nearby the Bellville South waste disposal site, is proposed. Furthermore, the current practice of the horse and cart industry in the Belhar neighbourhood, is defined to be a space consuming business in need of solutions for its accommodation (City of Cape Town,
importance to ensure that it develops itself as a safe anchor point within the pedestrian network. As mentioned before, in establishing the missing road links between Pentech station and both Sacks Circle and Belhar Drive, the first step has been taken. However, additional activities and services would be able to contribute to the increase of the quality of the rail transport service including the stimulation of a safe environment. Several possible solutions to this will therefore be proposed in the paragraphs below.

As mentioned before, commuters using the station leave early in the morning in order to return only at 7 p.m. which corresponds with a timeframe in which commercial services are not open to the public. As such, the provision of early and late hours small shops around the Pentech station precinct could meet this demand, providing commuters with the opportunity to combine their travel with their daily groceries. Concerning this proposal, it has to be mentioned that the ambition to facilitate opportunities for commercial development around station precincts is also addressed in the current Tygerberg District Plan (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 141).

In addition, the redevelopment of the railway station itself by constructing a building on top of the railway line in order to form a physical connection point between the residential area of Belhar and the university of CPUT, could further enhance the social control of the area. After all, in establishing this building, the station itself could harbour the necessary supporting functions such as a proper waiting room, a kiosk, a ticket service or even a post office.

With regard to the previously discussed extension of Belhar Drive, the provision of an adequate bus station, taxi rank and parking facilities in the direct precinct of the station is also proposed. This would hence ensure the overall access of people to transportation and thus increasing the people’s physical and social mobility.

Pentech station: the convergence of flows

The proposals with regard to the cement railway line and Belhar Drive both relate to linear structures that converge at the Pentech station. As this station today is used by commuters from New Belhar, Delft, employees in Sacks Circle as well as students from CPUT, it is hence the most frequently used station in the neighbourhood. Yet, as it is situated in extension 23 in the far corner of Belhar and is not accessible by car from the north or easily accessible from the south, the station today is completely locked up and hence lacks the necessary social control. As mentioned in the narrative ‘physical and social immobility’ there as such have been numerous incidents related to safety issues.

Accordingly, as this station is foremost used by commuters in early morning, around 5 a.m., and late in the evening, around 7 p.m., it is hence of utmost importance to ensure that it develops itself as a safe anchor point within the pedestrian network. As mentioned before, in establishing the missing road links between Pentech station and both Sacks Circle and Belhar Drive, the first step has been taken. However, additional activities and services would be able to contribute to the increase of the quality of the rail transport service including the stimulation of a safe environment. Several possible solutions to this will therefore be proposed in the paragraphs below.

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OVERARCHING PRINCIPLE: THE NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH CONCEPT

Whereas the first and second phase of the implementation of this third strategy relate to both the physical and programmatic redevelopment of the space within New Belhar, in order to reassert this strategy an additional overarching principle concerning the establishment of a neighbourhood watch can be applied to both phases.

In terms of organisation, by organising community meetings, the first step is to identify the key areas in which a neighbourhood watch is necessary. The
3: addressing further economic development

As pointed out earlier, the final phase within this strategy focuses on a long term perspective, including the reinforcement of the economic basis of the New Belhar area after investment conditions have been improved as a result of the suggested proposals in the first and second phase of this strategy. Accordingly, whilst focusing on the creation of local job opportunities, the aim of this proposal is to identify activities that operate on a regional scale.

Bearing in mind the ambitions of the D.F. Malan Cape Town International Airport to expand its businesses, the CTIA precinct represents an important economic centre providing future job opportunities in the areas directly surrounding it. As such, since this plot is located on the intersection of Stellenbosch Arterial and Symphony Way, positioning itself on a strategic location serving both the west-east and the north-south spine, it hence offers investment opportunities for logistical services related to the airport.

Matters regarding this proposal have also been addressed in the Tygerberg District Plan stating that ‘the mixed use and industrial development potential in the airport precinct is one of the few strategic opportunities...

Since the patrol members are local residents themselves, close contact with the community can be established and residents themselves can keep them up to date on any crime trends or safety concerns within the neighbourhood. Accordingly, this relates to a programmatic bottom-up approach that involves the organisation of the community. In addition, the engagement of for example local and social media, such as Facebook, could stimulate the publicity around the neighbourhood watch concept and as such could stimulate the recruitment of volunteers, thus raising citizen involvement. Special efforts to include the youth of Belhar within such an organisation would furthermore be vital for its success on a long term.

Furthermore in terms of financial organisation, local businesses, especially those that will benefit from less crime in a specific area, can be a source of support for the establishment of these neighbourhood watches. These local businesses could for example support the volunteers in the provision of basic materials such as uniforms and flash lights. Moreover, financial support could come from the community itself by including individual donations by local residents and thus sharing the costs as a community as a whole and making this strategy self-funded (National Crime Prevention Council, 2013).
for economic development and job creation in close proximity to poorer communities south of Voortrekker Road (City of Cape Town, 2011b, p. 41). As a consequence, with regard to this proposal, the site could be developed as a site for airport-related activities such as the development of a logistic company organising the storage and distribution of goods and packages. Since it is located in close proximity to the airport and has high access to road transportation, these activities relating to logistics might well include international express deliveries.

Plot 19

With regard to the reinforcement of economic investment within the area, due to its location on both the north-south axis of the R300 freeway and the east-west axis of the Stellenbosch Arterial, in analogy to the proposal made for plot 18, this plot was indicated for a transport-oriented development. Moreover, as this site is of significant size, this proposal concerns the provision of a workplace, operating on a regional scale, which involves the repair and maintenance of all types of motorised transport vehicles including trucks, Golden Arrow buses and minibus taxis.

Considering the large number of minibus taxis operating within the area, special focus should be given to the maintenance and the application of safety regulations of these privately organised types of public transport. After all, with regard to the minibus taxi industry, research has shown that vehicle maintenance was haphazard which resulted in several accidents (Barret, 2003, p. 13). Hence, this proposal tries to provide a place where the industry can be further formalised, thus improving the working conditions and safety for both commuters and drivers.

As final note to this proposal, it should be mentioned that these workplaces could be linked to vocational trainings of the Northlink College concerning the training of technicians, welders, and painters. Furthermore, additional jobs could also be created that are indirectly associated with the transportation sector aiming at businesses related to fuel distribution, the sale of spare parts and car wash services.

Reflection

‘The way I would work with the community is I would call huge meetings, get a plan and get it up. Get people to draw drawings on A1 about how they would like to see it in ten years. Get people to build a model. It probably takes a year or two to do that. There should be common goals that people want to achieve. It could be a really important process. We only got involved in that kind of process in Langa. […] I sat with a plan and highlighted all the clinics, schools … Then we started to say what is the biggest need: a youth centre, a sports centre, an old age house, extra schools … because everybody said the biggest need in Langa is a school. But the community said it was nonsense. They don’t need schools. People from Khayelitsha came to Langa. People can exactly say what they want but they need to be in the process of analysing: what have they, what don’t they have, what is good, what is bad, what is the crime rate […] You have to go to all the clinics, all the schools and speak to people, you’ve got to sms, you’ve got to use the media and the marketing to get the people’.(Smuts, 04-10-2012).

As conclusion to this third chapter, it has to be highlighted that all strategies emerged from our own analysis with a limited form of input from the community. As such we acknowledge this cannot be seen as a representative participation process. By recognising the complexity between planning practices and the actual use of a place, hence recognising the complexity between the conceived and lived space, we therefore want to emphasise the necessity of a complete participatory process in all three strategies. As a consequence, we believe that the involvement of local residents should be the starting point.
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All mapping underlays are aerial photos from the Cape Town Chief Directorate Surveys and Mapping (2010).

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p. 201 (lower right corner): http://kochfm.co.ke
p. 203 (two top pictures), p. 233: http://csstudio.co.za
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